

VOYAGES
TO THE
EAST-INDIES;

BY THE LATE
JOHN SPLINTER STAVORINUS, ESQ.

REAR ADMIRAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE
STATES-GENERAL.

Translated from the original Dutch,
By SAMUEL HULL WILCOCKE.
WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

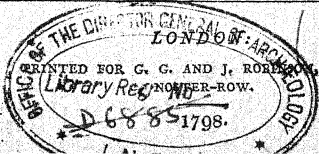
The Whole comprising a full and accurate Account of
all the present and late Possessions of the Dutch
in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope.

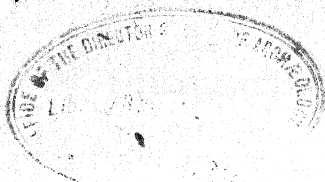
ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.
IN THREE VOLUMES.

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VOL. III.

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CONTAINING
A CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE FROM SURAT TO
BATAVIA, THE COAST OF MALABAR, AND THE CAPE OF
GOOD HOPE; in the YEARS 1775-1778.

WITH AN APPENDIX.





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VOYAGE

TO

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA,
SAMARANG, MACASSER, AMBOYNA,
SURAT, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1774-1778.

 BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.



*Manner of Life of the Persees.—Their Chiefs.—
Their Religion.—The holy Fire.—Their Reverence
for Fire; and for Water.—No Disturbance on
Account of Religion among the Moors, the Gentoos,
and the Persees.—Diseases prevalent at SURAT.*

THE Persees live temperately; contrary, however, to the custom of the Gentoos, they eat all kinds of flesh meat, except that of oxen, and of hares, in order not to give offence to that nation; but it must always be killed and prepared by their own people.

Two of them, one of whom, MANT-
CHERGI by name, is the broker of the Dutch,

and the other of the English Company, are the chiefs of the Parsees who dwell in and about *Surat*; they are, at the same time, their chief ecclesiastics, or priests; they likewise settle the disputes that arise among them, and the parties must submit to their decisions: murder, homicide, and other crimes amongst them, which disturb the public tranquillity, are punished by the nabob, or governor of the city; he, however, acts very circumspectly in such cases, because he stands more in awe of the Parsees than of the Moors, or Gentoos, on account of their large numbers and greater courage, whereby they are left, in some measure, independent: such heavy crimes, I was told, are very seldom heard of among them; and besides, as they all live in separate wards, in which they do not allow any strangers to reside, many things may remain hidden among them, which would soon be publicly known, if they lived more dispersed.

The religion of the ancient Persians, instituted by ZOROASTER, and which part of that nation have retained to the present day, is too well known for me to say much about; besides which, in order to form a true idea

of the religion of a nation, their language should be perfectly understood, especially when it is enveloped in abstruse metaphysical, or allegorical, propositions; for the best interpreter is not of any use in this point, much less those who are met with here, and who can scarcely translate the occurrences of daily conversation from one language into another.

Hence I conclude that we shall never be able, in Europe, to obtain a true idea of the various religions of the nations of Asia, that of Mahomet excepted, before some really learned man, well versed in religious and metaphysical disquisitions, takes the trouble of learning their language, especially that of their saints, which is exclusively appropriated to the services of their religion.

I shall, however, say something, in a few words, of the religion of the Perses at *Surat*.

In the first place, they allege that they possess a genuine copy of the institutes of ZOROASTER.

They likewise pretend that the holy fire which they brought with them at the time of their flight from *Persia*, has remained

burning to the present day, without being extinguished, in their largest and principal temple, which stands near the Portuguese city of *Daman*. The allegations, in this respect, of the priests, who, like those of other similar religions, play their parts in a masterly manner, are blindly and implicitly believed by the unenlightened many. They moreover take care that this holy fire be only exposed once a year to the profane eyes of the vulgar ; this is a festival which takes place in the month of October, and marks the commencement of their year, and they eat, drink, and make merry on the occasion.

Besides this festival, they have once every month, which is exclusively a religious one, and on which they offer up solemn supplications to the divinity.

Every Persée likewise offers up a prayer every morning, and every evening : in the morning he turns towards the rising sun, and in the evening to the moon, if she be visible.

The element of water is equally an object of their reverence ; yet only in so far as they believe that the sun, fire, and water, are the purest representations of the god-head,

head, to whom they say, that they solely pay adoration.

Their reverence for fire is carried so far, that they will not extinguish it on any account ; they will not even put out a candle or lamp.

When a fire takes place in the town, they do not endeavour to quench it with water, but try to stop the progress of the flames by pulling down the houses and buildings round where they rage, till the fire goes out by not meeting wherewithal to consume.

They have six or seven houses appropriated to their religion, or churches, as well within, as out of the town, in which a prayer, sermon, or exhortation, is every day pronounced by their priests ; and in which fire is kept constantly burning, the flames of which are fed by the purest and most costly wood that can be procured ; this may never be blown upon by the breaths of any impure creature, but it is kept alive by being fanned with a fan. None but a Persee may enter one of these buildings.

In contradistinction to most other religions, they do not endeavour, or desire, to make any proselytes.

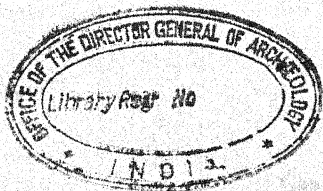
These three distinct nations, the Moors, the Gentoos, and the Persees, whose religions are widely different from each other, exercise the greatest toleration and indulgence, in this respect, towards one another ; no one is molested on account of his religion ; they may be seen together in, and near, the river, offering up their prayers, each to that being whom he adores, without any marks of derision or contempt being shewn by any one : this even goes so far, that the days which one persuasion look upon as holy, are also looked upon with a degree of veneration by the others : when the holy fire of the Persees is exhibited to the people, no Gentoos will either approach, or touch, fire, no more than the Persees themselves.

The principal disorders to which the inhabitants of these countries are subject, are burning fevers, and the dysentery.

The burning heats, which prevail here from the month of June till August and September, are the cause, it is said, of the former, and the flatulency of the greatest part of the usual food of the inhabitants of the latter ; which I leave to the determination

tion of those who are better acquainted with pathology than myself.

Few of the natives of the country attain to very advanced age. The emperor AURENGZEBE, however, lived, according to VALENTYN, one hundred and three years.



CHAPTER II.

Coins current at SURAT.—Almonds used as the lowest Medium of Exchange.—Ancient Grecian and Roman Coins met with here.—Weights.—Measures.—Lime and Brick-kilns.

THE coins that are current here, are of gold, silver, and copper.

The coin of gold of the country is the *mohur*, which is gold of twenty-three carat; it goes here for fifteen silver rupees; though its value is not constantly the same, but is settled according as gold is at a high, or at a low price. All foreign gold coins are only taken according to their weight and intrinsic value.

Ducats are likewise met with here, but no one is obliged to receive them in payment contrary to his inclination; they are distinguished into three sorts; the Venetian ducats, which are worth from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{5}{16}$ rupees, or *f*.6. 7 to 8 stivers; all other European ducats, to which they give the appellation of
images,

images, and which are current at from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ rupees, or *f*.6. 3 to 5 stivers; and the third, or last, sort, those of *Constantinople*, or *Stambouli*, among which are comprehended all other Turkish, Arabian, and Persian ducats, and which go at from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ rupees, or *f*.5. 16 to 18 stivers. The value of these coins is lowered or enhanced in proportion as more or less gold is imported.

The silver rupee is the standard coin of the country, the only one which is struck in the empire of Hindostan, and is current all over it; its real value in Dutch money is scarcely four-and-twenty stivers, but here, among the Europeans, it is calculated at thirty stivers*: every rupee contains sixteen *annas*; but the calculation by *annas* is not so common here as in *Bengal*: the fractions of rupees are generally settled by *pice*, which is the only copper coin here, and of which more or less go to a rupee, in proportion as copper is at a low, or at a high price; when

* Mr. STAVORINUS here gives the assay, and weight of the rupee, according to the Dutch denominations; the reader is referred on this subject to the note subjoined to page 460 of the first volume, where the assay, real weight, standard weight, and intrinsic value, of the rupee, is given from Sir ISAAC NEWTON'S Table. 7.

I was at *Surat*, sixty-four *pice* were given for a rupee: it is said that there are also leaden *pice*, but I saw none of them.

In the same way as cowries are made use of in *Bengal*, as the lowest medium of exchange, almonds, which are called *badams*, are employed for that purpose here; the comparative value whereof, is, as may easily be conceived, more liable to variation, than any other representative medium*.

No other money is current here, and all foreign coins are taken according to their weight and assay; but the Mexican dollars, or pieces of eight, known among the natives by the appellation of *raal lakria*, must, if weight, contain seventy-three *waals*: their value is uncertain, running from *f.*318 to *f.*324 per hundred†, and sometimes, but seldom, a little higher.

* When OVINGTON was at *Surat*, about sixty bitter almonds was the current rate of a *pice*. THEVENOT says sixty-eight; he adds, that the almonds that pass for money at *Surat*, come from *Persia*, and are the fruit of a shrub that grows on the rocks. T.

† Or about *5s. 9d.* to about *5s. 11d.* per dollar. According to RICARD, pieces of eight go at *Surat*, viz.

100 Mexican dollars for 217½ rupees.

100 Peruvian ditto for 218 ditto.

100 New Spanish dollars for 214 ditto. T.

What

What are called imperial dollars, are also brought hither, to a considerable amount, from *Mocha* and *Jedda*: they are either bought up by the Europeans at the rate of two rupees, or three gilders, apiece, or are sent to the mint, in order to be refined and coined into rupees.

Ancient Grecian and Roman copper coins are likewise sometimes met with here, some of which I have got in my possession. They have probably been dispersed by the wars of those nations in *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Egypt*, and the surrounding countries, and brought hither, among other coins, by the Armenian, Persian, and Arabian merchants.

The weights are very various here, and are regulated according to the nature of the commodities to be weighed.

The *maund* is here, as in *Bengal*, the general standard weight, by which most kinds of goods are reckoned; but it is distinguished into several sorts, as is the *seer*; the contents of the several species of weights are, viz.

The *seer kalsab*, or single *seer*, $\frac{9}{16}$ pound Amsterdam.

The *seer pakka*, which is the double of the former, $1\frac{9}{8}$ ditto.

The

The *maund kalsab* contains forty single *seer*, or $34\frac{1}{2}$ pounds : this is used for weighing alum, areca, tortoiseshell, elephants' teeth, grain, indigo, copper, lead, redlead, brass, quicksilver, sandalwood, salt, tin, steel, vermillion, iron, &c.

A *maund* of $40\frac{1}{4}$ single *seer*, or $34\frac{2}{3}$ pounds, is used for weighing of saffron.

A *maund* of 41 *seer*, or $35\frac{2}{3}$ pounds, for raw sugar.

A *maund* of 42 *seer*, or $36\frac{2}{3}$ pounds, for lamp-oil, almonds, flower of pistachio, catchoo, camphor, cinnamon, cardamom, cotton, cotton-yarn, coffee, cumminseed, corianderseed, dried ginger, mace, filberds, cloves, nutmegs, black pistachio-nuts, salt-petre, sapanwood, tea, wax, soap, &c.

A *maund* of $43\frac{1}{4}$ *seer*, or $37\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, for sugarcandy.

A *maund* of 44 *seer*, or $37\frac{1}{3}$ pounds, for gum arabic, assa foetida, Bengal pepper, cowries, galls, gumlack, rosin, cubebs, brimstone, &c.

A *candil* is twenty *maund kalsab*, or ten *maund pakka* ; but these are Bengal *maunds*, which contain eighty single, or forty double *seer* ; thus a *candil* is 690 pounds Amsterdam weight :

weight : it is by this weight that capoc is sold.

A *harrab* is seven *maund kalsab*, or $241\frac{1}{2}$ pounds.

Gold and silver are calculated in the following proportions:

A *seer kalsab* is thirty-five *tola*;

A *tola* is thirty-two *waal*, or twelve *massa*;

A *massa* is $2\frac{2}{3}$ *waal*, or eight *retti*;

A *retti* is four *nilly*.

Two and a half *tola* are equal to one Dutch ounce ; a *seer kalsab* is therefore fourteen ounces ; a *waal* is eight *aas* ; a *massa* $21\frac{1}{3}$ *aas* ; a *retti* $2\frac{2}{3}$ *aas* ; and a *nilly* $\frac{2}{3}$ *aas* *.

THEVENOT says that a *tola* makes fifty-six carats.

Pearls are weighed by *fangis*, one of which is twenty-four *retti*, or $20\frac{2}{3}$ carats, each *retti* being $\frac{17}{16}$ carat.

A *fangi* is also 330 *chourw* ;

A *chourw* is $\frac{27}{17}$ of a grain ;

A *chourw* is likewise sixteen *annas* ;

And an *anna* is $\frac{58}{1600}$ of a grain.

Diamonds are taken by *retti* ; one hun-

* An English ounce troy is $82\frac{1}{2}$ *waal*, or *vals*. RICHARD. T.

dred *retti* is equal to eighty-five carats, a *retti* being $\frac{17}{20}$ of a carat, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ grain.

A *retti* is likewise twenty *wassa*;

And a *wassa* is $\frac{51}{100}$ of a grain.

The *yard*, which, though an English measure, is familiarly known to the natives by the same name, is one *ges* and eight *tessoe*, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ges*, a *ges* being twenty-four *tessoe*.

The standard *ges* of *Surat* is $1\frac{1}{3}$ Dutch ell.

The *bazar ges* of *Surat*, or that which is used upon the bazars, and in the shops, is $1\frac{3}{5}$ Dutch ell.

The standard *ges* of *Baroche* is $\frac{242}{100}$ of a Dutch ell.

The *bazar ges* of *Baroche* is $\frac{422}{100}$ of a Dutch ell.

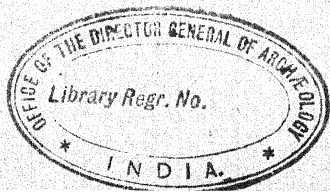
The *Baroche* standard *ges* is exactly as much shorter than a Dutch ell, as the *Surat* standard *ges* is longer; which is equally the case with the *bazar ges* of both places.

Distances are reckoned by *cofs*, each of which is full half of a Dutch mile.

The above is taken from a particular report made on the subject by Messieurs ZI-VEERS DE LANDES and DAVID KELLY, specially appointed to form such a statement
by

by the direction of *Surat*, by order from the supreme government at *Batavia*, in the year 1758.

The burning of lime, and making of bricks, though a great nuisance, is of little importance or value to the city. These trades are carried on in the suburbs; and in calm weather, the methods observed in them occasion a most offensive smell, and impregnate the air with very noisome vapours. A certain sort of coralline, stony earth, is made use of for the former; this they throw together in a heap, mix it, and cover it with cowdung, and set the whole on fire, and it sometimes continues burning for a fortnight. The material of which they make bricks is a clayey earth, which they mould at the spots where it is dug, set them in heaps, and burn them with cowdung. The manipulation of both articles is, however, performed in a slovenly and awkward manner.



CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

Carts.—Hackeries.—Palankeens.—Ships and Ship-building.—Description of the old or holy Ship.—It was destroyed in 1777.—Mode of building Ships at SURAT.—Durability of their Vessels.—Great Expence of their Construction.

THE carriages which are made use of to convey goods about the town, and up the country, are carts of a simple construction, running upon two wheels, upon which, when the carts are loaden, they are nearly upon a poise ; they are drawn by one or two oxen, which are here, in general, of a pretty large size.

The carriages, or *hackeries*, which the natives use to ride about in, go likewise upon two wheels. The body of the carriage is placed in the middle upon the axletree ; it is just large enough for two people to fit in it with their legs crossed under them ; it has a circular covering over it, generally of white linen, open at the sides when men ride in them,

them, but closed all round when women are the passengers. The belly and legs of the oxen (for horses are only used for the saddle) are frequently painted of a light rose-colour, and the horns are gilt either with gold or silver; they have little bells hung round the neck, by which the foot-passengers can hear them when they approach: the conductor sits, as the coachmen do with us, on a seat before the body of the carriage; he guides the oxen by a single rein on each side, which passes through the cartilage of the nose, and he urges them on, when necessary, by a stick, with which he goads or pushes them.

People of high rank, or of great wealth, are carried about in palankeens, or litters, as I have before mentioned in my observations upon *Bengal*.

As *Surat* is a large and ancient place of trade, and a seaport of considerable importance, there is no want of ships and vessels of various kinds and sizes, which are either built here, or are brought hither completely finished, for sale or charter.

The ships which are built here, cost, it is true, very dear, but they are able to navi-

gate the seas for a hundred years together. There was a ship here in existence, which performed a voyage to *Mocha* and back in the year 1770, being freighted on account of Mr. SLUISKENS, the second of the Dutch factory at *Surat*, of which the time when it was built is not known; and only that, in a letter, written by Mr. ZWAARDEKROON, the then director of *Surat*, to the government at *Batavia*, in the year 1702, it is called *the old ship*, although from that time, till the year 1770, it performed an annual voyage to the Red-sea.

This ship was always known by the appellation of the *holy ship*, because the pilgrims from India, going to, or returning from, *Mecca*, always took their passage on board of her; and, on the same account, that ship had a peculiar privilege at *Mocha* and *Jedda*, of taking on board a certain number of chests and boxes, free of duty; which privilege was the more valuable to the owners, as the duties exacted at those places are excessively high.

When I was at *Surat* on my first voyage, this ship was a-ground, about half a Dutch mile below the city, and so near falling to pieces,

pieces, that I did not think the owners would be at the charge of repairing her again; in effect, when I was at *Surat*, in the year 1777, on my second voyage thither, she was, as I have before mentioned, entirely destroyed by the last violent afflux of the river.

I computed it to be one hundred and thirty, or thirty-five, feet from stem to stern. It was built like a frigate, with three masts, and cut away full as sharp at the bow as our ships. The stern, as tradition says, had been that of an English ship, which was lost in this river; it has at least much resemblance to the representation of the ships of the last century. It had two decks, likewise a quarter-deck, and forecastle; the gunroom was very large; the height between the decks was scarcely five feet; the cabin was adorned within with a great deal of carving, and not the least piece of wood was left without some foliage or imagery. Upon the quarter-deck were, as in our ships, little huts or cabins, and before them a fixed awning, such as we call a *wafelkraam*; the catheads were excessive heavy pieces of timber, twice as large as those of a ship of one hundred and fifty feet. The cables run over the top at

the bow, in a deep notch, as our towlines are done. The bowsprit was not fixed upon the stem, but at the right side of it.

This ship belonged to a Turkish merchant called *Tjillebe*, who had several other ships. He is one of the principal merchants of the city, and greatly respected by the nabob.

They do not build their ships in the same manner as the Europeans; most of the timbers are fitted in after the planks have been put together. There was one built while I was at *Surat*, in what is called the English yard; it appeared to me to have about one hundred feet length of keel: it stood in a kind of graving-dock; if a large excavation, closed towards the river by a dam, without a stone facing, or any thing that resembled it, may deserve that appellation*.

They do not put the planks together as we do, with flat edges towards each other, but rabbet them; and they make the parts fit into each other with the greatest exactness,

* They do not thus launch their ships, as we do, from slips; but, when sufficiently finished for floating, they dig through from the water to the sort of docks mentioned above, which they call cradles, where the ships are, as it were, dropped into the stream that is brought up to them. T.

bestowing much time and attention upon this operation ; for this purpose, they smear the edges of the planks, which are set up, with red lead, and those which are intended to be placed next, are put upon them, and pressed down, in order to be able to discern the inequalities, which are marked by the red lead, and afterwards taken away : they repeat this till the whole fits exactly ; they then rub both edges with a sort of glue, which becomes, by age, as hard as iron, and they cover it with a thin layer of capoc, after which they unite the planks so firmly and closely with pegs, that the seam is scarcely visible, and the whole seems to form one entire piece of timber.

They fit the timbers and beams in the same way to the planks ; so that a piece of wood is sometimes put in and taken out more than ten times before it is fixed for good and all *.

Instead of bolts, they make use of pieces of iron, forged like spikes, the point of which

* The knees, or crooked timbers, are generally of the natural growth into that form, without being forced or warped by fire, especially where particular care is taken of the construction, and no expence spared. T.

is driven through, clenched on the inside, and again driven into the wood. They make the iron which they employ for this purpose very tough and flexible *.

The tediousness of their method, together with the dearness of timber they employ, which must be brought hither from distant places, make ship-building very dear here, but, at the same time, their vessels are very lasting, and can go to sea for many years,

* They have also a peculiar way of preserving their ships' bottoms, by occasionally rubbing into them an oil which they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe, and it serves greatly to nourish and keep them from decay. The masting generally used in the country-ships, are pohoan-masts, chiefly from the Malabar coast; but for the cordage, what is worth any thing, must come from Europe; their coir-ropes being, for either running or standing rigging, more harsh and untractable than what is produced from hemp. Coir-cables, however, are very serviceable, and have their excellences, as we have before seen, in opposition to the European cables; they last much the longer in salt water, fresh being apt to rot them. Their anchors are mostly European, our iron being much better, and better worked. With sails, they are very well supplied by the country-manufacture of cotton into a sailcloth called *dungaree*, which, though not so strong or lasting as canvas, Hollands duck, or vitry, is, whilst in use, more pliant, and less apt to split than they are. For pitch, they have the gum of a tree called *dammer*, which is not at all inferior to the other. T.

before

before any repairs of the hull are at all wanted. Caulking of the seams, as may easily be conceived, does not come in question here; for if they once give way, the whole bottom is of very little value.

The ship that I saw building, was contracted for seventy-five thousand rupees, or *f*.112,500 — Dutch, and was intended to load one thousand nine hundred canassers of sugar, or one hundred and ninety lasts.



CHAPTER IV.

Great Decline in the Power of the Mogul Emperors.—Causes thereof.—Reflexions on the Rise and Downfall of Empires.—Superstition a firm Support of arbitrary Power, instanced in the Empires of PERU — PERSIA — The OTTOMAN PORTE. — Conquests greatly contribute to cement the Power of a State.—Instances from the History of CARTHAGE — ROME — The Mogul Empire under and after AURENGZEBE. — Encroachments of the English in HINDOSTAN. — Means by which they became Masters of SURAT. — Account of the whole Transaction from CAMBRIDGE'S War in India. — Capture of SURAT by the English Forces under Captain MAITLAND, in 1759. — Agreement between ATCHUND and the English. — They obtain Possession of the Castle and Tanka. — Confirmed therein by the Mogul. — Dutch Account of the Affair. — Contract between FARISCHAN and the English Company.

I HAVE before already made some mention, in a cursory manner, of the great decay which the power of the Mogul Emperors has undergone ; their sovereign authority is now

so much circumscribed, that they are not even masters over their own persons.

The causes hereof are no other than such as are found to prevail in almost all despotic states.

The sovereign, seated upon his throne in the interior of his empire, cannot himself pay any attention to the provinces that are distant from the seat of government; but is obliged to confide the administration of them to lieutenants, whose oppressive disposition far exceeds that of the monarch himself; while, though they are not entirely divested of awe for the throne, yet, by forming confederacies with the neighbouring princes, or amongst themselves, they become, in their turn, objects of apprehension to the sovereign.

I could adduce many instances of the above from history, if they were not as generally known, as the truth of the proposition is clear and evident.

There are three methods by which, according to my judgment, the power and dignity of large and extensive empires, can be, and have been, cemented and maintained.

First, by means of the laws, the execution of which belongs exclusively to the monarch,

to

to which he, as well as his lieutenants, are, at the same time, subject, and whereby both he and they are kept within bounds, and prevented from oppressing the lower ranks, so that they may not have any cause or inducement to oppose the just authority of the prince, to rise in rebellion against him, or put themselves under the protection of a foreign power.

Next, by means of superstition, by which subjects attached by religious prejudice to the family of their princes, on account of the supernatural origin to which they may lay claim, believe that their whole welfare depends upon the conservation of that race. The monarch is hereby enabled to rule with the most absolute sway, as long as this belief is predominant, without having ever any cause to fear that any one will be fool-hardy enough to oppose his will. We have an example of this in the ancient Peruvians, who were most firmly persuaded that their kings were the children of the sun, and that they brought with them to earth an heavenly bond that the people over whom they reigned should always prosper; whence many of that nation preferred to suffer death with their last king,

king, ATHA BALIPA, than live to encounter the evils threatened under another government.

In this same manner, too, THEVENOT informs us that the Persians are firmly assured that no one can have, or has, any title to be their sovereign, but one that is a descendant from one of the twelve Imams, of whom ALI was the first ; that they, in consequence, never look upon him but with fear and trembling, and have such respect for him, and pay so blind an obedience to all his orders, that, how unjust soever his commands may be, they perform them, though against all law, both of God and Nature *.

Likewise that the Janissaries, in the Turkish empire, though in their mutinies they sometimes depose and murder their sovereigns, yet they so much respect the blood of their prince, and have so great a veneration for the race of the first OTHOMAN or OSMAN, that they never so much as dream of altering the succession from that family †.

In the third place, another means of add-

* *Suite du Voyage du Levant, tom. III. chap. xi. and xiii.*
Voyage du Levant, tom. I. p. 243.

ing strength and security to empire, is that of conquest, by which the fear and respect of the subjects for their victorious monarch are more and more augmented, and his greatness and power are magnified much beyond what they really are, while his resentment and revenge are dreaded for the slightest offence. It is by this that that slavish fear is created, which MONTESQUIEU supposes a necessary foundation of arbitrary power; and we find his observation verified both in ancient and modern history.

As long as *Carthage* waged war against the Romans, with equal fortune, she held her conquered provinces, and Spanish subjects, in controul, notwithstanding they were oppressed by numberless vexations, by extortions of money, and by requisitions of men, which exhausted the land; their bearing these injuries could only be ascribed to the fear of the power, and vengeance of the Carthaginians. But no sooner did *Carthage* cease to conquer, and her power begin to decline, than they shook off their fears, and either chose other masters, or reinstated themselves in their original state of independence.

Just so it was, too, with *Rome* herself, when she had no conquests to boast of out of *Italy*, and when involved in the first and second Punic wars; especially in the beginning of the latter, when fortune smiled upon the arms of *Carthage*, their surrounding allies, or rather their subjects, immediately dismissed all apprehensions of the resentment of *Rome*; and when they saw her deprived of the CAMILLI, the QUINTII, the FABRICII, and other great and consummate generals, who had so often made them feel the power of the Roman people, they ceased to pay her their obedience.

Afterwards, when the Roman empire had attained the summit of glory, and of greatness, and began to bow under its own unwieldy weight, when conquests were no more heard of, and no new nations received the Roman yoke, first the more remote and then the nearer nations shook off their allegiance to the tottering colossus, or were subdued by others hitherto unnoticed and unknown, till they gradually left to *Rome* no more than the shadow of what she was.

Not to say any thing more of other monarchies, the Mogul empire, and that of Hindostan

Hindustan have undergone the same fate. As long as their sovereigns were conquerors, no one dared to rise against them, and if they did, they were without delay brought again to their obedience: but no sooner did conquest leave the imperial banners upon the death of AURENGZEBE, than each of the conquered princes, and the lieutenants of the Mogul, no longer restrained by the fear of their sovereign's vengeance, who waged no other wars than with his own relations, and who could do little without their assistance, renounced their dependence upon the court of *Dehly*, disregarded the mandates of the Mogul, and usurped the sovereign authority of their respective districts.

The journal of Mr. KETELAAR, who went as ambassador from our Company to the court of the great Mogul, in the years 1711 and 1712, thus only four or five years after the death of AURENGZEBE, affords several examples of the way in which the orders of the court were obeyed by the governors of the provinces: and this has at last brought the empire into that state of debility, that it has not been able to repel a
handful

handful of Europeans, nor to prevent them from penetrating into the most interior parts of the empire, and making themselves masters of the richest provinces.

Bengal, Bahar, Orixá, part of *Coromandel*, and *Surat*, are now almost wholly under the dominion of the English, and the treasures which formerly flowed into the coffers of the emperor from these wealthy domains, are now diverted to the purpose of maintaining their present masters in the possession of them.

The wars which that nation have waged in those countries are well known ; but as no true idea can be formed of the actual political situation of *Surat*, without being acquainted with the manner in which the English became masters here, and have continued till now in possession of the castle, upon which that of the city depends, I shall communicate the particulars thereof, first, according to their own accounts, and then agreeable to ours, where they may differ.

The Mogul emperor, having much interest in the preserving the navigation and trade to and from *Surat*, free from molestation,

tion, and not being inclined to maintain a naval power himself, entered into a contract with the SIDDEE, an Arabian, who, though of an obscure origin, had found means to collect a fleet sufficient to render the neighbouring coasts insecure *, and he nominated him his admiral, with a yearly revenue of three lacks of rupees, or four hundred and fifty thousand gilders, for which he was to keep the coast free from the ravages of pirates. The payment of this sum was made, partly out of the revenues of some adjacent lands, and partly from the revenues of *Surat*, which was to be annually paid him by the governor of that place.

But when the government of *Surat* failed in the payment thereof, about the year 1750, or 1751, the SIDDEE took an opportunity, under the colour of claiming his arrears, to send some of his cruisers into the river of *Surat*, at a time when the monsoon was

* The SIDDEE was chief of a colony of Coffrees, or negroes, from the coast of *Africa*, and from *Madagascar*, who having been settled at *Dundee-Rajapore*, carried on a considerable trade there, and had likewise many vessels of force. *Cambridge's War in India*, page 216. T.

setting in, and then made a pretence of the season for their remaining there, which does not appear to have excited the suspicion of the governor of *Surat*. SIDDEE MUSSOOT, the commander of the squadron, profiting by this supineness, made use of the opportunity to get some kind of footing in the government, and to seize unexpectedly on the castle; which he held till his death, which happened in the year 1756, and left the possession of that fortress to his son, as his lawful successor.

MUSSOOT not only retained the government of the castle, but greatly encroached on that of the town, and appropriated to himself one-third of its revenues. Another third had long since been annually paid to the Marattas, and by them farmed out to an officer who resides at *Surat*. The walls of the town, with the assistance of the Europeans who have factories there, are a sufficient defence against these plunderers; but as they are at all times masters of the whole country up to the very gates, it has been thought expedient to pay them duly their allotment, rather than subject the inland trade to the many delays and difficul-

ties with which it is in the power of the Marattas to clog and interrupt it. They are continually hovering about the place, and watching for invitations, which through the inconstancy and fluctuation of the governing powers of the city and castle, they might easily receive; and though they know that the consequence of their admission into the town would be the absolute loss of their revenue for the future (for their government, wherever established, is fatal to trade), yet from their habitual passion for plunder, they are ever feeding themselves with hopes that some governor, in the decline of his power, will open the gates and invite them to a present booty, which no arguments of reason or policy could restrain them from seizing.

One MEAH ATCHUND had applied to them for their assistance, to turn out NOVAS ALLEE CHAN from the government, who likewise entertained a secret correspondence with some of the Maratta chiefs, and to be himself invested with the government. MEAH ATCHUND was brought by a party of Marattas from *Poona* to the walls of the town. Having so far availed of their assistance,

ance, he discarded them; for the SIDDEE, preferring him to NOVAS ALLEE CHAN, whom he thought to be more dangerously connected with the Marattas, agreed to join MEAH ATCHUND, and establish him in the city, upon the condition that he would absolutely renounce their alliance.

The government of the city being thus continually weakened by the encroachments of the castle upon the town, it was daily expected that the Marattas would take advantage of this state of anarchy, to make themselves masters of the city, for which the internal state of the place seemed to be fully ripe, by the lawless behaviour of the SIDDEE's son, who filled the city with riot and murders, while new exactions and additional burdens were daily laid upon trade, and grew to be intolerable.

In the year 1758, earnest application was made to Mr. ELLIS, the English chief at *Surat*, by the principal merchants and inhabitants of the city, desiring him to recommend it to the presidency of *Bombay*, to fit out an expedition for the taking possession of the castle and *tanka* (which was the appellation given to the yearly consideration

paid to the SIDDEE, for the protection of the coast from pirates). They enforced their solicitations by entering into an obligation to become responsible, for five years, for any deficiency in the revenues of the castle and *tanka*, which were estimated at two lacks of rupees per annum.

PHARRASS CHAN, who had been *naib*, or deputy-governor, to MEAH ATCHUND, and, properly speaking, the acting magistrate, had regulated the police to the satisfaction of the whole city; it was therefore proposed to have him for governor, since he had sufficiently shewn how well he was qualified for it by his conduct and behaviour while he acted as second.

These proposals were the more readily approved and accepted, as the English complained that they had been often grievously oppressed by frauds, extortions, and many impediments thrown purposely in the way of their business; as also by frequent insults, violences, and even murders, committed on their servants, with a total disregard to the protection and privileges of the Company.

It was also a consideration of no small weight,

weight, that the possession of the castle would be a security against entertaining apprehension of the Marattas.

These were arguments for undertaking such an enterprize at any time; but what determined the presidency of *Bombay* to come to a decisive resolution on the subject, and at last caused the expedition to take place, was the weight and influence of the squadron of men-of-war which was at *Bombay* in the year 1759, under Admiral Pocock, who promised to reinforce the Company's armament with two of his ships.

Mr. ELLIS had taken great pains to obtain a thorough knowledge of the state of affairs, and interests of the several persons concerned in the government of the city and castle, during his residence there; and had, with no less judgment, concerted a plan for settling it upon a better establishment.

Mr. SPENCER, who succeeded Mr. ELLIS, communicated to the governor and council of *Bombay*, the best information he could procure of the posture of affairs in *Surat*, in the beginning of the year 1759.

He wrote, that he found MEAH ATCHUND governor of the town, but with so little power, that the SIDDEE did not so much as leave him the nomination of the officers properly belonging to him; and those of the SIDDEE's party, who had been most instrumental in lowering the authority of ATCHUND, were apprehensive of his entertaining a correspondence with the Marattas.

The dread of those ravagers, and the frequent murders which were committed with impunity, since the government of the city had ceased to be respectable, had intimidated the inhabitants to so great a degree, that many considerable traders and people of substance had left the place, entertaining at the same time, apprehensions of being plundered in the contest between the two parties; and those who staid, were sincerely desirous that the castle should be in the hands of the English Company, from the confidence, which they alleged, that they had in the English, and the opinion they entertained of the humanity and justice of their government; trusting, that so long as they possessed the castle, they would have influence

ence enough in the town to prevent the violence and oppression which had too long raged without controul.

Besides the invitation from the whole mercantile interest, overtures were made to Mr. SPENCER by two of the principal men in the government, SIDDEE JAFFIER and VELLEY ULLAH, who engaged to contribute all in their power towards securing the castle and *tanka* for the Company, upon condition that they should agree to make PHARRASS CHAN governor of the town; or in case it should be found too great a difficulty to set ATCHUND aside, that the Company should bring PHARRASS CHAN to *Surat*, with their forces, and place him in the government, by agreement, as *naib*, or deputy-governor, to ATCHUND.

The principal motive of SIDDEE JAFFIER was the preservation of his large property, which he could not but apprehend to be in great danger under so anarchical a government, notwithstanding his influence with both parties.

VELLEY ULLAH acted upon different principles: he had formerly been a dependant on NOVAS ALLEE CHAN, and had

sacrificed him to MEAH ATCHUND, with whom he held the same place, but with a greater degree of influence; and this he was supposed to use without any scruple, for betraying his new master to the SIDDEE: conscious of this, and aware of the distrust which ATCHUND must naturally have of him, from his known insincerity, he was for embracing any opportunity of securing himself, by overthrowing or weakening that power which he had just reason to fear.

From the character of these people, there was very little reliance to be placed in their professions of friendship, and promises of assistance; it was therefore of much greater consequence to the success of the design, to examine into the force that was to oppose it, than to be vainly looking after that which was too precarious to be depended on for support.

It was soon discovered that the SIDDEE had about two thousand men in pay; after deducting from which, such as were employed in domestic services, or kept merely for parade, there might remain a body of about seventeen hundred, composed of various people, Moors, Gentoos, Arabs, Patans,

tans, and others ; but they were allowed to be a better corps than ARCHUND's sepoys, who were in number about four thousand. To this body were to be added such a number as they could be expected to raise upon the news of the preparations at *Bombay* for an intended attack. At the same time it was considered, that a body of men so raised could be no great addition of real strength, since they were not likely to behave themselves as soldiers, on the mere consideration of a few days' pay, well knowing that they should be discharged as soon as ever the affair was decided. There seemed, therefore, to be but one thing to be apprehended, which was, that ARCHUND, or even the SIDDEE, might, in distrust of their own strength, fly to the desperate resource of calling in the Marattas.

The presidency of *Bombay*, now fully apprized of all particulars, and being principally upon their guard against the last-mentioned fatality, determined upon attempting the enterprize. No danger was to be apprehended by sea, for, besides the assistance of two ships from the squadron of Admiral Pocock, it is to be observed, that the SID-

DEE,

DEE, who enjoyed the *tanka* on condition of keeping up a fleet for the Mogul, had so far fallen off in the performance of that condition, that his marine was by no means capable of opposing the ships of the Company.

The troops appointed for the expedition consisted of eight hundred and fifty Europeans, artillery and infantry, and fifteen hundred sepoy; they were under the command of Captain MAITLAND of the royal regiment of artillery, and embarked on board of the Company's armed vessels, commanded by Captain WATSON, who sailed on the 9th of February, and landed them on the fifteenth *.

When Captain MAITLAND approached the town, he found that some of the SIDDEE's people had taken post in the French garden, whence he dislodged them, after a hot dispute of four hours, in which he lost twenty men. He then directed the engineer to look out for a proper place for a bat-

* The troops were landed at a place called *Dentilowry*, about nine miles from *Surat*, where they encamped three or four days, for refreshment. T.

tery, which was erected in the night, and on the next day, and also on the three following, a brisk fire was kept up from two four-and-twenty pounders, and a thirteen-inch mortar. The enemy had taken possession of the English garden (wharf), and the *Siddee's bunder* (*jenghi bander*, or custom-house), and had secured them with works and strong pallisadoes.

After this continued firing, without any apparent effect, Captain MAITLAND called a council of war, composed of military and marine officers, when they concerted a plan for a general attack, and resolved to carry it into execution the next morning. In pursuance of this plan, the Company's grab and bombketches * warped up the river in the night, and anchored opposite to the *bunder* early in the morning; and then a general attack began from the vessels and a battery, with a design to drive the enemy from their batteries, and so facilitate the landing of the infantry, who were embarked on board the boats. The firing lasted till after eight, when, upon a signal made,

* The large ships were of no use, the *Bombay grab* of twenty guns, and four bombketches, being the only vessels that had water enough to go into the river. T.

the boats put off, and landed under cover of the vessels, the military being greatly assisted by the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain WATSON. They soon put the enemy to flight, and took possession of all the outer town.

There still remained the inner town and castle. In order to attack them both at once, three mortars were planted at the distance of about seven hundred yards (one hundred and seventy-five rods) from the castle, and five hundred yards (one hundred and twenty-five rods) from the wall of the inner town.

About six in the morning the mortars began to play very briskly, and continued to do so till two the next morning. The cannonading and bombardment put the besieged into such a consternation, that they never returned one gun.

Several messages passed, during the attack, between the principal persons in the town, and Mr. SPENCER, who used his utmost endeavours to place PHARRASS CHAN in the government; but it appeared that his friends, notwithstanding the hopes they had given, made not the least effort in his behalf, even
after

after the English had been two days in possession of the outer town, but signified to Mr. SPENCER, that they chose PHARRASS CHAN should be *naib*, and that the government should be continued to ATCHUND.

These considerations, added to the expence of stores, and the loss of men by the casualties of war and desertion, made it imprudent to persist in bringing in PHARRASS CHAN, against the inclination of his former partizans, and the interest of ATCHUND, who, should he be thereby provoked to unite with the SIDDEE, might frustrate the whole design. It was therefore agreed to propose this plan to ATCHUND and his party, offering to secure the government to him on condition of PHARRASS CHAN being made *naib*, and the English established in the possession of the castle and *tanka*. Mr. SPENCER accordingly set on foot a treaty with ATCHUND, and the following agreement was ratified on both sides :

“ Agreeable to your desire, I sent a person to you, by whom you advised me ver-
 “ bally of your demands; and with sincerity
 “ of heart I now write the particulars I can
 “ agree to, which are as follows:”

[ATCHUND'S

[ATCHUND's Seal.]

"Article I. That PHARRASS CHAN shall be appointed to the office of *nail*, in its greatest extent, as in the time of SUFFDAIR CHAN, and nobody but himself shall interfere in the said post."

"II. That whatever articles PHARRASS CHAN has given in writing, or promised, to the honourable Company (the particulars of which cannot be drawn out at present, and must be deferred till we can meet), shall be fully complied with, without the least diminution."

"III. That the *Mecca*-gate shall be opened, and our troops admitted, and we shall join our forces, to drive our enemy out of the town."

"IV. The above articles a person in your behalf demanded, all which I agree to, and will comply with, and the government shall be continued to me in full authority; and to the above I have put my own seal, and MEER COOTBODEEN will

[COOTBODEEN's Seal.]

"Article I. Agreeable to this article, I fully consent to PHARRASS CHAN's appointment."

"II. Whatever PHARRASS CHAN has written, or promised to do for the honourable Company, I will stand to without the least alteration."

"III. The *Mecca*-gate shall be opened, your troops admitted, and joined by mine, to drive out the enemy."

"IV. Agreed to; and that we shall act jointly in turning the enemy out of the town. Whatever the honourable Company have demanded, I agree to."

" will sign and seal the
 " same, after which you
 " must send a counterpart
 " of this writing, with the
 " honourable Company's
 " seal affixed."

A counterpart of the above articles were sealed with the honourable Company's seal, and sent to ARCHUND, on the fourth of March, 1759.

As soon as these articles were executed, ARCHUND immediately opened the inner town gate, and ordered a party of men to assist in bringing the SIDDEE to terms; who being acquainted with this junction, was convinced that it must be impossible for him to hold out against their combined force, and the general voice of the people.

After many repeated messages, with a variety of proposals, it was at last agreed, that the SIDDEE's people should have liberty to march out with their arms and accoutrements, and also be permitted to take away all their valuable effects, and even the common furniture of their houses.

The whole of this was effected with the greatest regularity, and the English were peaceably put in possession of the castle and *tanka*.

The

The guns and ammunition found in the castle were secured for the Company, as also the vessels and naval stores, till such time as the Mogul's pleasure was known. As soon as the grants arrived from *Dehly*, appointing the Company admiral to the Mogul, the ships and stores belonged to them, of course, as part of the *tanka* *.

The

* It should be remarked, that these grants were solicited and obtained before the murder of the Mogul, and the revolution at *Dehly*; and arrived some time after the reduction of the castle. The two principal grants were as follows:

Firman, or order, under the great Mogul's seal, and under-sealed by his vizier, for the honourable Company's holding the government of the castle of *Surat*.

" Let the renowned among the people, the English Company, hope for his majesty's favour; and be it known unto them, that in these happy and victorious times, his majesty has been pleased, out of his great grace and favour, to grant unto them the *killidaræ*, or government, of the castle of *Surat*, on its being taken from *MUSSOOR ACHMED CHAN*; it therefore is requisite that they should be very grateful for this his majesty's favour, and look particularly to the welfare of the castle, keeping proper order and discipline among the troops, and having provisions, stores, and ammunition always in readiness, as has been usual, which is strictly and especially required of them by his majesty."

" Given on the eleventh day of *Mohoram*, and in the sixth year of his majesty's reign (or 4th of September, 1759)."

Housbul Hookum, or order, under the seal of the nabob vizier,

ULMA

The killed and wounded on the side of the English, in this expedition, did not amount to more than one hundred Europeans, but the loss by desertion was greater.

This particular account of the transaction is drawn from the *Account of the War in India*, by RICHARD OWEN CAMBRIDGE, printed at London, 1761; where likewise are detailed the articles of agreement which the English entered into with the Marattas on this head *.

The

ULMA MALECK BAHADOUR, to the English Company, accompanying the *firman*.

“ May his majesty’s favour ever remain upon the brave and noble English Company. It has pleased his majesty to grant unto you the office of *killedar* (or castle-governor) of the *bunder* of *Surat*, vacant by the dismissal of HOFFIS AMED CHAN; as also the office of *deroga* (or admiral) of the great fleet of the *vaid bunder*, vacant by the dismissal of SIDDEE YACOOD CHAN. Therefore, agreeable to his order, you are now directed to take particular care of the proper execution of the above offices, by looking well to the welfare of the castle, and preservation of the merchants, &c. on the high seas, keeping them clear of pirates and rovers who may infest them. This is positively required of you.” T.

* The following are the articles of agreement, between the English Company, and the Marattas, alluded to :

“ I. As the SIDDEE at *Surat* has not only become troublesome for many years to the honourable Company, the *Circar* (the Maratta officers), the merchants, &c. but has

The accounts which were given me of the matter in our factory at *Surat*, differ, in some

“ possessed himself of the castle, and usurped the government
 “ of the place, to the entire ruin of trade, and of the city
 “ of *Surat*; it is therefore agreed, between the *Circar* and
 “ the honourable Company, to turn him out of *Surat*, that
 “ every body may be easy there, to pursue his own advancement, and for the general benefit of the place.”

“ II. That the English shall have the sole power and authority to make any man nabob there, and the *Circar* shall approve such election without hesitation; and they (the English) shall have the same power and authority to turn him out, by informing the *Circar*, who will not have any objection to it, should he prove a bad man, in any respect, towards the merchants, or any body else.”

“ III. That the nabob, &c. shall make no alterations in the customs on goods, &c. but let that article, and every thing else, remain as at present.”

“ IV. That the castle, when taken, shall be possessed by the English, and they shall have the sole command of it for the safety of the place, and benefit of the government, and for which they shall receive the usual allowance.”

“ V. That when the *SIDDEE* at *Surat* is turned out, the *tanka* which he had for maintaining a fleet, shall be divided yearly in three shares, viz. to the *Circar*, to the Company, and to the Nabob, each one-third.”

“ VI. That the *Circar* shall receive, as usual, from the government, what is justly due to them, and pay out of it what is due to *Damojee*, but both the *Circar*'s and *Damojee*'s officers and people are to give assistance, for the greater import and export of goods, &c. to and from *Surat*.”

“ VII. That the nabob, or governor, of *Surat* shall receive,

some measure, from the foregoing ; they were as follows :

The governor of the city of *Surat* was, in the year 1750, a Moor *, of an obscure

“ ceive, as usual, what is due to him from the *Circar* and
 “ *Damjee*, for the country without *Surat* gates.”

“ VIII. That should there be any quarrel or disturbance
 “ within the town, and there be an occasion for putting a
 “ stop to any thing any where out of the gates of *Surat*, the
 “ *Circar*’s people are to do or desist from the same, conforma-
 “ ble to the desire of the English, and not otherwise ; and
 “ those officers and people are not to offer to meddle in any
 “ affairs of the *Surat* government, or shew any molestation to
 “ the same.”

After these proposals, it was extremely difficult to manage the Marattas, who were continually interfering. During the siege, a body of their troops approached *Surat*, and desired to be admitted to act in concert with the English : but as such an affair would have disgusted the Moors in the town, Mr. SPENCER managed so as to wave it without offence ; using, at the same time, all possible precautions to prevent the Marattas from having any intercourse with the SIDDEE, or ATCHUND, with both of whom they had been tampering, notwithstanding their professions to the Company. At last he found it necessary to declare, that he would not allow of any force appearing before the place, while the English were carrying on their operations against it. T.

* Mr. CAMBRIDGE aptly remarks, that it is a great impropriety to call the Mahomedan conquerors of India by the name of Moors ; and yet, as the writers of all nations have always given them that appellation, it would now be a greater impropriety to deviate from that usage. T.

origin, who had raised himself into importance by treachery, and maintained his ill-gotten power by corruption, and by the aid of the English. He acknowledged, it is true, the great mogul for his lord paramount, but he paid little regard to his commands. He had likewise, it is true, several co-regents, who, on account of their great wealth, were much looked up to by the inhabitants; but they had very little to say in the actual administration of the government. He had even succeeded in introducing his son as governor of the castle, who was a youth, who dared not do any thing without the concurrence of his father; so that the governor of the city was, at that time, if not wholly independent, yet entirely uncontrouled in his local government.

This, however, was not of long duration; for the SIDDEE making himself master of the castle, his great power, joined to a consummate and artful policy, enabled him to settle almost every thing according to his own liking: the governor was even obliged to submit to him, though externally the SIDDEE paid every respect to his office.

As

As long as this SIDDEE lived, he kept every thing in proper order. His moderation and equity prevented him from acting with much injustice ; the inhabitants enjoyed a tolerable state of tranquillity ; he took care, in particular, that the English did not overstep the bounds of law and authority, when they thought they might freely launch out into excesses, upon the ground that they had afforded aid to the governor of the city.

But no sooner did this SIDDEE die, but all was replete with confusion : his son and successor being still a child, could not be equal to his father in abilities, nor keep the city in repose and peace : the flames of civil contention began to rage anew between those who aspired to the government, and who, in their turns, successively established and deposed each other. One party had recourse for assistance to the Marattas ; another called in the aid of the English. As the latter conceived that these commotions were very advantageous for their interest, they formed a plan for getting possession of the castle, and keeping it in their power for ever.

For that purpose, and in order to give the

greater appearance of justice to their cause, they first entered into articles of agreement with a certain Moor, called FARIS CHAN, who was at that time *naib*, or deputy of the governor, which were signed at *Bombay*, on the 12th of March, 1758, and a copy whereof, written in the Persian language, was sent by FARIS CHAN himself, after he had conceived some disgust with the English, to our director SENE, and which is still preserved among the Company's papers at *Surat*, being as follows :

Translation of the Persian contract, signed between the English Company and FARIS CHAN, by the mediation of RICHARD BOURCHIER, governor of the island of Bombay, in the month Reuel, or, according to the European account, on the 12th of March, 1758.

“ Article I. The English Company shall
 “ be bound to establish the said FARIS
 “ CHAN as governor of *Surat*, by force of
 “ men and ships, to place him in that go-
 “ vernment, and to give him their assistance
 “ to maintain him in it.”

“ II. The castle of *Surat*, together with
 “ its revenues, the usual amount of the pay
 “ of

“ of the SIDDEE, shall remain with the
 “ English Company, who shall enjoy the
 “ whole, in the same manner as the SID-
 “ DEE.”

“ III. FARIS CHAN shall be bound to
 “ take the charges of this war for his ac-
 “ count, and to defray them, out of the
 “ revenues and duties of *Surat*, which shall
 “ be specially bound as security for the
 “ same.”

“ IV. Besides which, FARIS CHAN shall
 “ further give, as a donation to the Euro-
 “ pean land and marine forces, two lacks
 “ of rupees, in order that they may not
 “ plunder the town, which sum shall be
 “ levied upon the merchants and money-
 “ changers.”

“ V. The city-gate, situated by the
 “ waterfide, and called *Molnakeerkee*, shall
 “ always remain in the possession of the
 “ English, without that the governor shall
 “ be allowed to disturb them in the least
 “ therein. They shall likewise have two
 “ other gates, one in the inner, and an-
 “ other in the outer town, for their free
 “ and uncontrouled ingress and egress, with-

“ out that any one shall stop or hinder them
“ therein.”

“ VI. Agreeable to the privileges granted
“ by *firman*s to the English Company, they
“ shall, together with the merchants under
“ their protection, be permitted to prosecute their trade, according to custom,
“ without being at all obstructed by the
“ government therein.”

“ VII. The other European merchants
“ shall also freely prosecute their trade,
“ agreeable to the tenor of the grants they
“ have obtained from the emperor, without
“ being obstructed by any one therein.”

“ VIII. FARIS CHAN shall continue to
“ pay to the Marattas one-third part of the
“ revenues of *Surat*, in the same manner as
“ they have, for several years, received that
“ allotment.”

(underneath)

The Seal of the English Company.
(and signed)

“ RICHARD BOURCHIER,

“ FARIS CHAN.”

“ This translation is made from a copy
“ of the aforesaid contract, delivered by the
“ said

“ said FARIS CHAN himself, to the brokers
 “ of the honourable Company, MANTCHER-
 “ GI, and GOVENRAM.”

(underneath)

“ Translated as dictated by the Com-
 “ pany’s brokers.

(signed) “ W. SMIT.”

This agreement with FARIS CHAN being thus made, the presidency of *Bombay* sent orders to Mr. SPENCER, their chief at *Surat*, to leave no means untried in order to secure the friendship of those who might be able to oppose their enterprizes. As this gentleman was perfectly well adapted for such a commission, he soon effected the necessary arrangements, and he had the address not only to corrupt one of the principal officers of the *SIDDEE*, who commanded in the castle, for twenty thousand rupees (of which only five thousand were afterwards paid), but he engaged Mr. TAILLEFORT, the then director of our Company at *Surat*, to remain perfectly inactive, and not to intermeddle at all in the affair; and as the opposition of the Dutch was the greatest obstacle which he had to apprehend, he did
 not

not find much difficulty, after this bar was removed, the SIDDEE betrayed, and the governor of the city destitute of authority, to get possession of a town very ill provided with the means of defence.

This narrative, which appears to me to bear more marks of veracity than that of the English, might afford sufficient matter for odious reflections, which will naturally present themselves to the mind of every impartial reader.

CHAPTER V.

Great Power of the English at SURAT.—Their Abuse of it.—Particular Instance of their Oppression.—Wretched Condition of the Natives.—War between the English and the Marattas.—Occasion of it, &c.—The Expence of the English Establishment at SURAT exceeds their Income from it.—Some Particulars respecting their Factory.—The French Factory and Garden.—Humiliations they suffer from the English.—The Portuguese.—Their Trade.—When the Dutch were first established here.

THE English have now so firmly established themselves here, that they give laws to all others; and neither Europeans nor Indians can do any thing without their special approbation.

The governor of the city, or nabob, does not, in this respect, differ from the lowest inhabitant; he must obey their commands, although they shew him externally some honour, and will not, in public, allow that he is subservient to them.

To give but one instance of their tyranny, as likewise of the implicit obedience which
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the nabob pays to their mandates, I will relate the following occurrence, which took place during the time I was at *Surat*.

A large number of horses having been brought to *Surat*, from the interior parts of the country, for sale, two of them were purchased by the warehousekeeper of our company, Mr. VAN C——, for seven hundred rupees, and the money was immediately paid to the seller; after which the purchaser had the horses carried to his stable. It chanced that the lady of the French consul *** had just before caused an offer to be made for them; but as the price could not be agreed upon, the horses were sold to Mr. VAN C——. The lady was a high-minded woman, and conceived that she ought to have the preference above others; she accordingly intimidated the seller, who was an Indian, by means of the English chief, Mr. GAMBIER, to such a degree, that he came to Mr. VAN C——, entreating him to take back the purchase-money, and to give up the horses; but Mr. VAN C—— not listening to his request, Mr. GAMBIER sent to ask, in his own name, for the horses, threatening that, in case of refusal, he would make his

his own people fetch them out of the stable or would take them away from before the carriage, whenever they came over the English garden; upon which the owner returned for answer, that he should wait the issue of Mr. GAMBIER's menaces.

GAMBIER and the French consul, but especially the former, who made it a point of honour to gain possession of the horses, got the nabob to interfere in the business. Accordingly, a few days afterwards, the nabob sent to Mr. VAN C——, requesting that he might have a sight of the horses, which were the occasion of so much dissention; he desired that they might be sent to his court, or *darbar*; and he sent assurances to Mr. VAN C——, with the most solemn affirmation, upon his word of honour, that it was only to satisfy his curiosity, and that as soon as he had viewed the horses, he would send them back again.

Mr. VAN C——, relying upon the solemn assurance, and the word of honour of the nabob, sent the horses to him. They were, however, no sooner in his power, than he sent word to Mr. VAN C—— that it was impossible for him to fulfil his promises, as Mr. GAMBIER positively insisted upon having

the horses ; but he offered to give two of his own horses instead of them, which Mr. VAN C—— might choose from among the best in his stables, or that he would pay to Mr. VAN C—— the money which he had disbursed for the horses : but this offer was rejected ; and Mr. VAN C—— returned for answer, that he expected to have his horses back again.

But he obtained no redress, the horses were carried from the *darbar* to the French factory ; Mrs. * * * and Mr. GAMBIER obtained their wishes, and Mr. VAN C—— lost his beautiful horses.

I believe that complaints were made by the Company on this subject, but no more regard was paid to these than to the representations of private persons.

Hence it may easily be conceived, that, as the English act in so arbitrary and cavalier a manner towards the nabob, and the governors of the place, the poor natives are in a much worse condition, having neither courage, money, power, nor protectors, to procure justice to be done to them.

Trade, too, has been declining from day to day ever since the English have played the masters here, as has been more than

once testified to me by the company's brokers, and by many principal Banian merchants.

They press the labourers and manufacturers into their own service, and pay them no more than they think fit, and sometimes nothing at all.

The common people are compelled by them to serve as soldiers, and their lawful governors do not oppose it. They cover the whole by the plausible allegation that they bear arms in the service of the mogul, and not in that of the Company.

Nothing remains, therefore, for the unfortunate inhabitants of *Surat*, but to offer up their prayers to the supreme Being whom they adore, for deliverance from the tyranny of a nation, that know no bounds in prosperity, and offer up, without scruple, the welfare of all others at the shrine of their own interest, regardless of the happiness or misery of their fellow-creatures.

They thus not long ago involved their company in a war with the Marattas, the prospects whereof are not now at all favourable to them.

The prince of the Marattas, who, from his capital city, situated in the interior parts
of

of the *Deckan*, was called king of *Poonah*, having been made away with a few years before, by his brother, RAGA BOUWA *, the murderer made himself master of that city and of the empire, to the prejudice of his nephew, the son of the former king, without any apparent opposition from any one.

Having, as he conceived, nothing more to fear, he left *Poonah*, to visit an old princess who resided a few days' journey off, and to whom, as seems, from the accounts of this transaction, to be the case, the Maratta princes perform some act of homage, upon their accession to the throne, in order to be confirmed by her in the government.

The widow of the late king, and mother of the injured young prince, who had, by the powerful agency of corruption, brought most of the head-men to favour her attempt, all which, by her dexterous management, remained a profound secret to the usurper, took this opportunity to seize upon the capital city, *Poonah*, in behalf of her son, and to

* Otherwise ROGANAUT-ROW. The wars carried on by the British in India, during and subsequent to this period, have been recorded in so many narratives given to the public, that it is needless to add any thing here on the subject. T.

purſue RAGA BOUWA with a conſiderable body of forces. Unable to withſtand her troops, the uſurper fled to *Surat*, and threw himſelf into the arms of the Engliſh, to whom he made an offer to pay them eighteen lacks of rupees, if they would join their forces to his, and reinſtate him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

This propoſal was accepted by the preſidency of *Bombay*; and reaſons of ſufficient plauſibility were adduced, to make it appear a meaſure well adapted to promote the intereſts of their company. It was ſettled, that a certain part of the eighteen lacks of rupees, promiſed by RAGA BOUWA (which, however, was not a very large portion) ſhould be allotted to the company, in reimbursement of the expences of the war, whiſt the greateſt part of that ſum was appropriated to their own uſe by the governor and council of *Bombay*, as a ſmall recompence, forſooth, for the trouble which the proſecution of this war would put them to.

The event, however, by no means answered their expectations. The army of the queen, inceſſantly active to haraſs the troops of RAGA BOUWA, and his Engliſh allies, at

ast defeated them entirely in the year 1774 ; and they had even got possession of the artillery of the English, when their thirst of plunder lost them that advantage : the remainder of the united army was, however, forced to fly, with the tyrant, to *Baroche*, whilst the *Poonah* army laid waste the country round *Surat*, and pillaged all the villages, even burning down to the ground the country-seat of the English broker at *Poule-parre*, which is no more than one Dutch mile from *Surat*, which city was in consequence thrown into the greatest consternation, as the enemy were expected to invest it every moment ; but they retreated, without making any attempt upon the city.

RAGA BOUWA remained, in the mean while, in the *Baroche* country, where he did the same thing as the army of *Poonah* did in the parts which they visited. He desolated the surrounding country, and extorted as much money as he possibly could from the inhabitants, without which it would have been impossible for him to satisfy the hungry bellies and empty purses of his English friends, whose officers fared well by this campaign, especially those belonging to the artillery.

In the mean time a new governor* had arrived in *Bengal* from Europe, who, when informed of this war, sent immediate orders to the presidency of *Bombay*, to suspend all operations, for the space of six months, or till further orders were given.

RAGA BOUWA and his confederates, thus disappointed in their views, remained encamped with their army, between *Baroche* and *Surat*, till the month of October, 1775, when he came down, by degrees, as far as *Nassary*, situate a few Dutch miles below *Surat*, without, however, being able to refrain from leaving behind him, wherever he passed, traces of his lust of rapine and destruction.

At last the long-hoped-for permission to continue the war arrived from *Bengal*, in the month of December; and it was asserted that a large number of troops were arrived at *Bombay* from Europe; and, if the accounts received shortly before my departure were true, of which there was no reason to doubt, this reinforcement came at a very critical period, for the queen was said to be marching with a very large army to attack RAGA

* Mr. HASTINGS. T.

BOUWA, and that she had encamped with her forces, at no greater distance from him than forty *cos*, or twenty-two Dutch miles; whilst one of the native princes, who had declared himself in favour of the young prince, followed her footsteps with an auxiliary army of fifty thousand men: against this formidable force, RAGA BOUWA had no more than twenty-eight thousand men, and the English army amounted only to fourteen thousand; and they were the less likely to make an effectual resistance, as a violent dissension had just before taken place between the two armies, in which even blood was spilt, arising from the circumstance that the English had killed some oxen, which are esteemed holy by the Marattas.

From these accounts it appears that *Surat*, with respect to the English, is not a head-factory, but subordinate to the presidency of *Bombay*, who send one of their members to *Surat*, under the denomination of chief, to whom a council is given, in conjunction with whom he settles all matters occurring at his factory, subject, however, to the approbation of the governor and council of *Bombay*.

It is easily to be conceived, that they drive
the

the most profitable trade here ; and yet, their gains, added to one third of the revenues of the city, are not sufficient to indemnify their company, for the heavy expence they must incur here, especially for the maintenance of the military force they are obliged to keep up ; and it is said, that they would not retain this object of expence, were not *Bombay* their chief settlement in the western parts of *Hindostan*, situated upon a barren island, which must draw all its articles of provision from this place ; and likewise if this establishment did not serve them as a post to maintain themselves, in this part of *Hindostan*.

Besides the castle, of which they are the keepers in the name of the great mogul, they have a lodge, or factory, in the inner town, where, equally as we, their merchants must reside ; as also a garden, or wharf, which lies next to ours, but below it, towards the mouth of the river.

Most of the members of their council dwell dispersed in different parts of the inner and outer town.

One of the members of the council, either the chief, or the next in rank to him, must pass the night in the city ; and the keys of

the gates, which are ceded to them, are brought to him in the evening, and taken away again in the morning.

The French have likewise ~~their~~ lodge, or factory, in the inner town, and a garden, situate out of the *Mocha*, or *Attua*-gate, to which they have given the name of *Bel Air*. Before the abolition of their company, they had, like other nations, a chief; but he is now called the French consul, and is appointed as such by the king of France.

They are not allowed, as the other European nations are, to hoist a flag at their factory, or garden, though this privilege is not denied them at *Chandernagore*, in *Bengal*. The English will not permit them to do it here; and they will be deprived of this satisfaction as long as that people retain any authority at *Surat*. Their consul was forced by the English, not long ago, to destroy a flight of steps behind his garden, descending towards the river. The trade of the French here is likewise of very little importance.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans who established themselves here: they are, at present, the least in power and respect. Their chief, who, it is said, is a Jew, was
put

put under a guard of sepoy's by the mogul, or nabob, in his lodge, or factory, a short time before my departure; and he was guarded so strictly, that some sepoy's were stationed night ~~and day~~ in his chamber: this was occasioned by an affray which had taken place between his slaves and those of the nabob, and respecting which he refused to give proper satisfaction.

Their trade is but trifling; yet it is not disadvantageous to the manufacturers of cloth, for they buy up those pieces which are rejected by us, because they do not agree with the pattern, and send them to *Goa*, and thence to their settlements on the coast of *Africa*.

The shortness of the time I was at *Surat*, did not permit me to procure any further information respecting the foreign nations that resort to *Surat*.

The Dutch did not establish themselves here till several years after the English; and, if we calculate from the arrival of our first director, PETER VAN DEN BROECKE, it was not before the year 1616, that we had any established trade here; he left the senior merchant, PETER GILLISSEN, and three

others, here, to dispose of the goods they had brought, with the provisional approbation of the magistrates of the city, till further orders should come from the king, of great mogul, to whom letters were written, craving protection and support : but the first *firman* was not received till the year 1618.

CHAPTER VI.

The Firmans granted to the Dutch East-India Company by the Moguls.—Enumeration and Particulars of them.—Reflections upon them.—They are of little comparative Importance now that the Mogul Empire is, in a Manner, subjected to the English.

THE *firmans*, or letters-patent, signed by the great mogul himself, by which his will is made known to his viceroys and lieutenants*, are the foundations upon which all foreign nations build their privilege of trading in the empire of *Hindostan*.

Those which the Dutch Company have obtained from time to time, not without great trouble, and valuable presents, are twenty-nine in number; of which are preserved in the Company's archives in *Surat* twenty-two originals, written in the Persian language, and seven copies, the originals

* A grant given by the mogul, is called a *firman*, or *phirmaund*; by the mogul's son, a *nushawn*; by the nabob, a *perwanna*; and by the vizier, a *houssul-bookum*. T.

whereof

whereof are kept at our factories in *Bengal*, and on the coast of *Coromandel*.

I will enumerate the privileges granted to the Dutch by them, one by one, in order to give a better idea of the grounds upon which our commerce in the empire of *Hindostan* rests :

1. The first *firman* granted to the Dutch East-India Company, is that of the year 1618 of our era, or 1027 of the *Hegira*, by JEHAAR GIER ABSUL CHAN, prime minister, or vizier, of SHAH SELIM, addressed to the regents of *Surat*, in favour of the senior merchant, and *pro interim* chief, PETER GILLISSEN, and contains the following articles :

1. That all help and friendship shall be shewn to the Dutch, and no more shall be exacted from them for customs than is usual in *Surat*.

2. That the merchants who sell and buy their goods, shall not be suffered to be molested therein.

3. That the presents which they intend for the king, shall be examined at the customhouse, sealed there, and sent thence to his majesty.

4. That no one shall be allowed to make
any

any claim upon the effects of the Dutch who may die, but that they shall be left untouched to the disposition of his lawful heirs.

~~5. That no one shall interfere in any disputes that may arise amongst them, but that~~
the same shall be left to the decision of their own chief, who is put over them.

6. That no one of them shall be compelled to embrace the mahomedan religion by force.

7. That, according to ancient custom, no duties shall be exacted upon the provisions which they may want for their ships.

8. That no injustice shall be done to them, under any pretence whatever; and care shall likewise be taken that none be committed on their part.

II. The second was granted by SHAH JEHAAN, to PETER VAN DEN BROECKE, director of *Surat*, in the first year of his majesty's reign, being, according to our era, the year 1627, and containing the following articles;

1. That the Company shall be allowed to make use of such brokers, as they may choose to employ, in their operations of trade.

2. That

2. That they shall be allowed to purchase all goods, as indigo, cotton, cloths, silk, salt-petre, alcativas, and what they may further stand in need of, at the market price, without being hindered, or molested ~~therein~~, by any one.

3. That they shall have liberty to dispose of their merchandize at whatever place, to whomsoever, and at whatever prices, they may choose, without being prohibited from so doing by any one.

4. That no one shall impose a price upon their goods but themselves.

5. That no one shall exact from them any thing more than the custom and port-duties, and these only to the customary amount.

6. That each governor, or chief, of a district, shall be obliged to give their goods, imported or exported, safe passage, in and out of his district.

7. And lastly, that they shall be allowed to hire a lodge, or factory, in *Agra* and *Amedabad*.

III. The third, granted by the same SHAH JEHAAN, to the director, JOHN VAN HASSELT, in the fourth year of his majesty's reign,

reign, being the year 1040 of the *Hegira*, and 1631 of the christian era, is to the following effect:

1. That no one shall be permitted to exact ~~any~~ other custom-duty upon the wares, merchandize, &c. of the Dutch, than such as they customarily pay to the government of *Surat*.

2. That, therefore, nothing shall be required or exacted from them at other places.

3. That they may in consequence send off their goods, for the maintenance of friendship, in the lands of the king, with perfect tranquillity.

IV. The fourth, granted equally by SHAH JEHAAN, to the director, JOHN VAN HASSELT, in the sixth year of his majesty's reign, or 1042 of the *Hegira*, in the month *Rebuel Sane*, being the year 1632, states:

1. That the Company may hire camels, carts, and whatever they may further stand in need of, without being molested therein by any one.

2. That all governors, rulers, guards, and others, in places where the Dutch may arrive, shall obey this order.

3. That

3. That it is their custom to hire carts in *Agra*.

The fourth article of the first *firman* is also confirmed by this.

V. The fifth, granted by the same prince to the director of *Surat*, PETER VAN DER GRAAF, in the seventh year of his majesty's reign, the 1043d of the *Hegira*, contains the following articles :

1. The fifth article of the second, and the first and second articles of the third, *firman*, are hereby confirmed.

2. That they, namely, the Dutch, are exempt from all other charges; and that, therefore, the governors shall prohibit all rajahs, polygars*, &c. from taking any thing else from the Dutch, and from molesting them in any case.

3. That their brokers who traffic in indigo, saltpetre, piecegoods, and other articles, at *Agra*, *Surat*, *Cambaya*, *Barocke*, *Brodera*, *Amedabad*, or any where else, shall not, upon the allegations of others, suffer any harm, be put into prison, or any pecuniary exactions levied upon them.

* *Rajah*, a Gentoo prince; *polygar*, lord of a small territory. T.

4. That the governors shall in no wise molest them, if they be not guilty of any crime.

~~VI~~ The sixth, given by the same prince, to the said director, VAN DER GRAAF, in the seventh year of his majesty's reign, the 1043d of the *Hegira*, or 1634th of the christian era, grants :

1. That thenceforward no one shall carry on any trade in indigo, on account of the king; but that article shall, according to ancient custom, be left free, for all merchants who choose to purchase it of the inhabitants of the country.

2. That the governors shall therefore have to take care that their inferior officers, *duans* *, regents, and others throughout the king's extensive dominions, and those who are attached to the interests of his majesty, shall not interdict the Dutch from making purchases of this article; but, according to ancient custom, they shall allow them freely to make purchase of it, wherever they choose.

* *Duan* is a prime minister, but here seems to mean a deputy. T.

3. That

3. That no *rabadarees* *, or expences of roads, shall be demanded of them, nor shall any one be allowed to extort money from them, in order that they may not be hindered in the prosecution of their trade.

VII. The seventh, given by the same prince, to the director of *Surat*, BERNARD PIETERSZON, in the eighth year of his majesty's reign, being the year 1044 of the *Hegira*, and 1634 of our era, is to the following effect :

That SEIF CHAN is hereby ordered, that no more indigo shall be purchased for the king ; and that neither he shall purchase any for himself ; that this order shall not be contravened by the other regents who stand under him, but that the trade in indigo shall be left entirely to the merchants.

VIII. The eighth, granted, as before, by the same prince, to the said director, PIETERSZON, in the eleventh year of his majesty's reign, on the 24th of the month *Jamadius Sancee*, the year 1047 of the *Hegira*, or 1638 of our era, contains orders :

* *Rabadar* is the title of an officer, who has charge of the highways, the examination of passengers, and the collection of customs, where any are there collected. T.

1. That

1. That nothing shall be required, at any place, upon the merchandize imported by the Dutch into his majesty's dominions, by the governors of *Amedabad*, or by any others, nor any covetous extortions be practised towards them.

2. That a free passage shall always be allowed for their goods, by the *Montasabad*, or other rivers or roads, to pass the river *Zoer*, by *Dehly*.

IX. The ninth was granted by the same prince to the Surat director, PAUL KROOK, in the sixteenth year of his majesty's reign, on the 15th of the month *Sabaar*, the year 1052 of the *Hegira*, or 1643 of our era, and contains—

The confirmation of the first, fifth, and sixth articles of the second *firman*.

X. The tenth, granted by the same prince, to the said director, KROOK, in the same year, the sixteenth of his majesty's reign, on the 14th of the month *Ramazan*, the year 1052 of the *Hegira*, or 1643 of our era, ordains :

1. That of the goods purchased by the Dutch in *Agra*, the ten rupees shall be taken as twelve, and those purchased at *Amedabad*,

or imported there, the ten rupees as ten and a half, according to which the calculations of the duties shall be made.

2. That upon the merchandize which they purchase at *Brodera*, *Surat*, or the places adjacent, no more shall be required than the invoice or real purchase prices shew to be due to the king's treasury, into which the customs shall be paid.

3. That no one shall take or exact any thing more from them.

XI. The eleventh was granted by the same prince, to the said director, *KROOK*, in the same year, being the sixteenth of his majesty's reign, 1052 of the *Hegira*, or 1643 of our era, on the 14th of the month *Sabaan*, enacting:

1. That thenceforward no one shall be allowed to require any thing from the Dutch for *rabadarees*, for charges, or for duties on provisions, but shall permit them to pass and repass without restraint throughout the king's dominions, and shall not molest them, or form any claim upon them, as they are declared to be exempt from all impositions.

2. That they may take such roads, and make use of such baiting or resting places,

as they may themselves judge fit, without being molested therein by any one.

3. The first article of the second *firman* is repeatedly confirmed, with the addition,

4. That all who infringe this command, shall answer for their violation of it to the king.

XII. The twelfth, being granted by the same prince, SHAH JEHAAN, to the Surat director, ARNOLD BERNARD MUISKENS, in the eighteenth year of his majesty's reign, on the 2d of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, in the year 1054 of the *Hegira*, or 1645 of our era, orders :

1. That a certain *Baguan* shall not intrude himself into the employment of the Dutch, but shall leave to them to make use of whatever person they choose, as broker.

2. That no more duty, or brokerage, shall be taken from them, than is legally claimable, agreeable to the king's former orders.

3. That no one shall carry their goods coming from *Surat*, *Periab*, and other places, into the custom-house, but they shall be permitted to carry them home to their own houses.

4. That the governors of *Surat* and *Ba-*

roche shall receive the duties from them, agreeable to the tenor of the *firman*s formerly granted.

XIII. The thirteenth, granted by the same prince, in the time of the Surat director, JOHN VAN TEYLINGEN, in the twenty-third year of his majesty's reign, on the 21st of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, the year 1060 of the *Hegira*, or 1650 of our era, contains in substance;

That, upon complaints being made by the Dutch, the governor of *Bengal* is commanded, that no one shall exact more from them than is authorised by ancient custom, and shall not introduce any new laws or customs on that head.

XIV. The fourteenth was granted by the same prince, in the time of the Surat director, GERARD PELGROM, in the twenty-seventh year of his majesty's reign, on the 21st of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, in the year 1063 of the *Hegira*, or 1654 of our era; and by it—

Every one throughout the empire of *Hindustan* is prohibited, after this *firman*, to extort any money from the Dutch, upon any pretence

pretence whatever, or for any reasons before detailed, to molest them in any shape, or to oppress them by avaricious requisitions.

XV. The fifteenth, granted by the emperor MORAD BAX, in the time of the provisional chief at *Surat*, ISAAC KOEDYCK, on the 2d of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, in the year 1066 of the *Hegira*, or 1657 of the christian era, contains the following articles :

1. The first article of the second, and the third of the sixth, *firman*, are hereby confirmed.

2. The Dutch may keep their *mokams*, or laydays, at whatever place they please, without being hindered or molested therein by any one.

XVI. The sixteenth was granted by the emperor AURENGZEBE, to the Surat director, and ambassador from the Dutch East-India Company to the court of the great mogul, THEODORE VAN ADRICHEM, in the fifth year of his majesty's reign, on the 5th of the month *Rebbi-ul-aurwel*, in the year of the *Hegira* 1071, or of the christian era 1662, and contains the following articles :

1. That the Dutch shall be freed from the payment of the one per cent brokerage,

which was included in the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent duty; and that therefore the duty to be paid by them shall thenceforward be no more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, according to ancient custom.

2. That upon the cloths and other goods, which they import into *Hindostan* from any place, and for which they purchase cottons, indigo, saltpetre, silks, and other merchandize, at *Agra* and other places, and carry them to *Surat* and *Baroche*, after the payment of two and a half per cent duty, according to ancient custom, no one shall take from them more, either in *Surat* or in *Baroche*, or shall molest them in any thing.

3. The third article of the second, and the third article of the third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

4. That they may purchase goods from whomsoever they please.

5. The first article of the second, and the first article of the twelfth, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

6. That no one shall require of them that they shall carry the copper which they import to the mint; but, upon payment of the customary duty, they shall have full liberty to convey that article to every part of
Hindostan,

Hindostan, and to dispose of it to whom they please; and the purchaser of the same shall equally not be molested on that account; in order that they may with confidence and safety bring much copper into the country, according to their promises, and that there may always be a plentiful stock of that metal on hand.

7. That the merchants and others who owe them money, shall not delay the payment thereof; but that the governors shall take care that they recover their money, and that no one shall assist their debtors to evade the payment.

8. That, if among the horses which they import, there shall be any fit for the king, and he shall take them, that they shall be paid for at the market-price; and that with respect to the others, the proprietors shall be at liberty to dispose of them wherever they may judge most proper, without being compelled to sell them at *Surat*.

9. That in any case when the prices to be paid for such horses as may be selected for the king cannot be agreed upon, those horses shall be sent to the court, with a seal about their necks, under the care of confiden-

tial persons, in order that the king's servants may determine upon the price, and remit the money.

10. That no one shall interdict them, if any merchants choose to go by their ships to *Bassora*, or other places, paying their passage to take them on board; but they shall freely be allowed to go; and they shall equally have liberty to take on board goods, and to carry them over.

11. The first article of the fourth *firman* is hereby confirmed.

XVII. The seventeenth, granted by the same emperor, AURENGZEBE, to the above-mentioned ambassador, VAN ADRICHEM, in the fifth year of his majesty's reign, on the 5th of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, in the year 1071 of the *Hegira*, or 1662 of our era, orders:

1. That the governor of *Agra* shall not trouble the Dutch on account of the duties and other charges which are taken in *Montaasabad*, nor on account of brokerage on purchases, nor claim the brokerage of the seller, otherwise than according to ancient custom.

2. That the first, second, and sixth articles of the third; the first article of the fourth; the

the first and third articles of the twelfth ; and the fourth and seventh articles of the sixteenth, *firmands*, are hereby confirmed. As likewise the third article of the sixth *firman*, with this addition, that no one shall trouble them for any *rabadarees*, or charges of the road, except upon what is forbidden at the court of the king, namely, wine and spirituous liquors.

XVIII. The eighteenth, granted by the same prince to the said ambassador, at the same time, comprizes—

A repetition and confirmation of the last article of the preceding, and of the third article of the sixth, *firmands* ; and ordains, that no obstacles shall be raised to the Dutch in the importation and exportation of their merchandize.

XIX. The nineteenth, given by the same prince to the said ambassador, on the 15th of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, in the same year, grants :

1. That the Dutch arriving with their ships before *Houghly*, *Pipley*, and *Ballasore*, shall have liberty to anchor in such places as they may choose.

2. That after payment of the fixed duty
of

of two and a half per cent upon their goods, they may convey them to such places as they please ; sell them to whatever merchant they choose ; purchase again goods from the same, in the manner they may like best, and employ brokers in their business, according to their own choice, without that any one shall be permitted to intrude himself into their service, contrary to their liking.

3. That with respect to the piecegoods, saltpetre, sugar, silk, wax, and other articles, for which they trade in the places situated in the provinces of *Babar*, *Bengal*, and *Orixa*, and which they convey for exportation to the ports of *Hougly*, *Pipley*, and *Ballasore*, they shall not in any wise be molested.

4. That no one shall trouble them, on passing and repassing, for any charges of the road, except upon what is prohibited at the court of the King, namely, wine and spirituous liquors ; but that, on the contrary, every one shall be aiding and assisting them therein, and shall shew them all friendship, in order that they may be enabled to dispatch their ships with ease and safety.

5. That

5. That their vessels shall not be liable to be pressed into the imperial service.

6. That all merchants and others shall not seek for delays in satisfying their debts; but that, on the other hand, the governors shall assist the Dutch in recovering their claims, and shall not suffer any one to afford protection or concealment to their debtors.

7. That those Dutch who may have occasion to travel through the king's dominions, for the transaction of their business, shall be allowed to travel as much, and no more, than they think fit per day, and to halt or rest whenever, and wherever, they choose, without any one being allowed to molest them herein.

XX. The twentieth, issued by the same emperor, AURENGZEBE, during the time of MOBITCHAR, governor of *Surat*, in the seventh year of his majesty's reign, in the year 1073 of the *Hegira*, or 1664 of our era, contains :

1. An order to the governor of *Surat*, that the Dutch shall be exempt during one year from paying of custom duty, on account

count of the courageous repulse of the troops of *Seva Gi**.

2. That one half per cent, out of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ duty due to the king, shall be taken off from the said duty, in favour of the Dutch and English; and the government of *Surat* is in consequence ordered to take no more than two per cent upon their merchandize from that time forwards.

XXI. The twenty-first was granted by the same emperor, at the time that JOHN BACHERUS was our ambassador at the mogul's court, in the thirty-third year of his majesty's reign, on the 12th of the month *Moherm*, in the year 1099 of the *Hegira*, or 1690 of the Christian era, and contains—

The grant to the Company of *Eerjam*, with the five villages belonging to it, comprized under *Palliacatta*, in the province of *Hyderabad*.

XXII. The twenty-second, granted by the emperor SHAH ALEM, at the time of

* A noted rebel during the reign of AURENGZEBE, who, however, by VALENTYN's account, plundered and burnt the city of *Surat*, in the year 1664. He died in the year 1680, but it was not till 1692 that AURENGZEBE subdued his sons, who had succeeded him, both in his rebellion, and in his deeds of rapine. T.

the Surat director, JOHN GROTENHUIS, and at the request of the governor of *Surat*, AMANET CHAN, in the second year of his majesty's reign, on the 19th of the month *Sikaard*, in the year 1120 of the *Hegira*, or 1709 of the Christian era, determines :

1. That of the twenty lacks of rupees taken by force, by the merchants of *Surat*, from the Dutch, eight lacks and eleven thousand rupees shall be repaid to them.

2. That thenceforward no more than two and a half per cent duty shall be charged to them.

3. That the one and a half per cent additional duty charged to them at *Baroche* shall cease.

4. That all who travel through *Hindostan*, belonging to, and in behalf of the Dutch East-India Company, as also brokers and others travelling on business, shall not be importuned for any *rahadarees*, or other charges.

5. That all the governors and other officers belonging to the district of *Hougly* are ordered not to exact double duty ; but that they, according to custom, shall continue, as at *Surat*, to take $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent duty.

6. That, according to ancient custom, a
place

place in the city shall be granted to the Dutch East-India Company for their use in carrying on their trade, and likewise another for a residence for their chief, within the city, or in the garden.

XXIII. The twenty-third was granted by the emperor JEHAAN DAAR SHAH, to the *Surat* director and ambassador, in behalf of the Dutch East-India Company, to the mogul court, JOHN JOSIAH KETELAAR, in the first year of his majesty's reign, on the 14th of the month *Redje-bul-moredjab*, in the year 1123 of the *Hegira*, or 1712 of our era, by which

All the privileges granted by the eight first articles of the sixteenth *firman*, are confirmed and granted anew; and further—

1. That no one shall claim any duty of the Dutch, upon the importation, or exportation, either by water or by land, of any goods intended for their own use, as clothes, consumables, necessaries, wrought gold and silver, manufactured copper, jewels, all kinds of victuals and provisions, &c.

2. That if there are any of the Dutch who absent or conceal themselves, or desert, from the Company's service, the governors shall be bound to seize and arrest them

them, and to restore them to the Company.

3. That they shall not be liable to the demands of the collectors of the *jiesia*, or head-money.

4. That the house of the deceased ET-TA-BAAR CHAN shall be given to the Company's servants for their residence for ever, upon the condition, however, that no angles or embrasures shall be made to it, nor any great or small guns conveyed into it, and that no other additions shall be made to it than that of chambers wanted for dwelling-places, or of warehouses for housing of merchandize, or any other necessary repairs.

5. That no one shall molest them on account of the ten or twelve horses which they annually import, and which are not worthy of the king's notice.

XXIV. The twenty-fourth, granted by the same prince to the said ambassador, at the same time, orders ;

1. That the governors of *Ecbar-abad* shall not molest the Dutch on account of any *rahadarees*, charges, or any thing else, which may be taken in *Montaas-abad* ; nor shall they claim the dues of brokerage from
the

the seller, but shall continue to claim them, according to custom, from the purchaser.

2. That their goods shall not be carried into the custom-house, nor shall any thing be claimed from them, according to ancient usage.

And further, the first, second, third, and sixth articles of the second; the first article of the fourth; the seventh article of the sixteenth; the last article of the seventeenth; and the third article of the twenty-third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed, and granted anew.

XXV. The twenty-fifth, granted by the same prince to the said ambassador, in the same year, on the 15th of the month *Redjebul-moredjab*, contains merely—

The confirmation and renewal of the second article of the second; the last article of the seventeenth; and the first article of the twenty-third, *firmans*.

XXVI. The twenty-sixth, granted by the same prince to the said ambassador, in the same year, on the 17th of the month *Sabaan*, orders;

1. That, according to custom, no duty shall be paid upon the merchandize and other goods, which the Dutch dispose of
in

in *Agra*, *Dehly*, and other places, being brought through the province of *Amedabad*; neither on the cotton-cloths, and other goods, which they may purchase at *Cam-baya*, *Patan*, *Dolhabad*, *Brodera*, *Baroche*, and other places, and which they carry to *Surat*; as the duty upon the same is paid upon their entry at *Surat*, being two and a half per cent.

2. The first and third articles of the second; the first article of the fourth; the fourth and seventh articles of the sixteenth; the last article of the seventeenth; and the second article of the twenty-third, *firman*s, are hereby confirmed.

3. That the imperial officers, governors, *jaqucerdars* *, and others, belonging to the government of *Amedabad*, shall not be allowed to molest them (the Dutch) upon the conveyance of their goods, through their province.

4. That nothing shall be taken upon the goods, intended by the Dutch for their own

* *Jaqucerdar* is the holder of a *jaqueer*, or territory granted for a particular use, either to maintain a number of troops, or keep a fort in repair, and sometimes as a pension. T.

consumption, or clothing, whether imported by water or by land.

5. The sixth article of the second ; the seventh article of the nineteenth ; and the third article of the twenty-third, *firman*s, are hereby confirmed.

XXVII. The twenty-seventh was granted by the same prince to the aforefaid ambassador, KETELAAR, in the same year, on the 14th of the month *Redje bul mored jab*, and contains ;

1. Not only the renewal and confirmation of all that was granted by the seven first articles of the nineteenth *firman*, but likewise,

2. That the governors of *Patna*, *Moorshedabad*, and such places as are situated upon the river *Ganges* down to *Houghly*, shall not claim of the Dutch any duty on the goods which they may purchase in *Babar*, and convey, either by water or by land, to *Houghly*, as the same shall be taken at *Houghly*, at the rate of two and a half per cent.

3. The confirmation of the second article of the twenty-third *firman*.

4. That upon the purchases of saltpetre, opium,

opium, piecegoods, sugar, and other wares, the appointed duty of two and a half per cent shall be paid at *Houghly*, and nothing more claimed of the Company, nor shall they be at all molested on that head.

5. That the governors, and guards upon the roads, shall not claim any *rabadarees*, or charges of the roads, from the Dutch, in passing and repassing, nor hinder them at all therein.

6. That the vessels, and authorized servants of the Company, provided with passes from the director in *Bengal*, and loaden with goods for sale or barter, shall not by any means be liable to be pressed in the territories of the king: neither shall they be detained or suffer any exactions, either upon arrival or departure, on the part of any *fausdars* *, collectors of the revenue, governors, or officers of the sea-coast.

7. That the governors shall lend their assistance to the Company, for the obtaining of what may be due to them by the

* *Fausdar*, an officer in all great cities, appointed by the emperor, who has charge of the police, and takes cognizance of all criminal matters. Sometimes it is one who receives the rents from the *zemindars*, or landholders, and accounts to the government for them. T.

weavers, dyers, or others ; and shall not prevent them from employing such servants, brokers, &c. in their service and trade, as they themselves choofe.

8. That the governors and magistrates shall in all places shew amity to the authorized servants of the Company, and shall attend to their complaints, and see that justice be done to them.

9. That the house of the deceased Nour ALLA CHAN, situated in the city of *Patna*, shall be given to the Company's servants, for their residence for ever ; upon condition, nevertheless, that no angles or embrasures shall be made to it, nor any great or small guns conveyed into it, and that no additions shall be made to it, unless of chambers wanted for dwelling-places, or of warehouses for housing of merchandize, or other necessary repairs.

XXVIII. The twenty-eighth, granted by the same prince to the aforementioned ambassador, KETELAAR, in the same year, on the 12th of the month *Redje bul mored jab*, contains ;

A confirmation of the third article of the sixth ; of the second and third articles of the
the

the twenty-third; of the fifth and seventh articles of the twenty-seventh; and of the cession mentioned in the twenty-first, *fir-mans*; likewise, that no one shall prohibit them (the Dutch) from taking into their employ such persons as they choose to make use of for their trade.

XXIX. The twenty-ninth, given by the emperor, MOHAMMED SHAH, during the time of the *Surat* director, PETER LAWRENCE RHOON, in the ninth year of his majesty's reign, being the year 1140 of the *Hegira*, or 1729 of our era, grants;

1. That all *fir-mans* issued from time to time, by former emperors, with respect to the duties to be paid upon the goods of the Dutch, or otherwise, shall remain in force, and that no one shall claim of them more than is thereby fixed.

2. That the director of *Surat* shall be permitted to purchase, for his own money, ground in the *Jenhi bander*, within the outer city-walls of *Surat*, by the riverside, and to erect buildings upon it for housing of merchandize, and that no one shall prevent him from so doing, or molest him therein.

The above contains the substance of all the *firman*s granted to our Company, which were all accurately translated out of the Persian into the Dutch language, by the order, and during the administration, of Mr. JOHN SCHREUDER, director of *Surat*, and afterwards councillor of *India*.

From them it appears that the trade of the Dutch Company in the empire of *Hindostan*, has, from time to time, been encouraged with such extraordinary privileges, as if they were, and even more than as if they were, natives of the country, and the prince's own subjects, who has taken them under his special protection, against the oppressions and extortions of his lieutenants, governors, &c.

He desists, in favour of the Company, from a kind of *droit d'aubaine*, which equally exists here as in France; he withdraws the decision of any disputes that may arise amongst themselves from the local judges, and vests it in themselves; and he absolves them from all constraint in matters of religion.

It is, however, certain, that several of these privileges have now and then been infringed;

infringed; and hence arise the frequent repetitions and confirmations of particular articles in the several *firmands*, by which may be evidently seen, the instability of the authority of the Mogul emperors over their subjects.

And as none of these monarchs, during the space of one hundred and eleven years, in which these charters, or letters patent were issued, ascended the throne by hereditary or legal right, but only by the law of the strongest, it appears that, in consequence, the reigning prince did not look upon the *firmands* granted by his predecessor as obligatory upon himself, and that the Company did not think themselves secure till they had obtained the confirmation of them from him, by a new *firman*: and as at the courts of all the oriental monarchs, and especially at that of the great mogul, nothing can be obtained without considerable presents, the expence of procuring these *firmands* would have been insupportable to the Company, had not fortune so directed it, that the monarchs they had to apply to enjoyed very long reigns, of whom SHAH JEHAAN, and his son AURENGZEBE, together

gether, held the reins of government for full eighty-one years.

However valuable, and of whatever importance, Mr. SHREUDER considered these *firmans* to be in his time, they are, however, at present, of little value, as the mogul emperor possesses no more power, even over his own person, than the tyranny of the English will allow to him; yet they have solemnly engaged to guarantee those privileges to us; on which subject I shall be more explicit hereafter.

CHAPTER VII.

The principal Factories formerly belonging to the Direction of SURAT — viz. in PERSIA — at MOCHA — at WINGURLA — at AGRA — at AMEDABAD — at BAROCHE — at CHIRCEES and BRODERA — at CAMBAYA. — Short Account of some of those Places. — Reasons of the Decline of the Dutch Trade at SURAT. — Great Profits formerly made. — Present Profits, &c. — Plans for the Improvement of the Dutch Trade in this Country. — Blameable Inactivity of Mr. TAILLEFERT during the Revolution of 1759. — Injuries and vexatious Proceedings of the English towards the Dutch.

THE principal factories which formerly belonged to the direction of *Surat*, were those of *Persia* *, *Mocha*, *Wingurla*, *Agra*, *Amedabad*, *Cambaya*, *Baroche*, *Brodera*, *Chircees*, &c. “And it appears to me,” says Mr. SCHREUDER, in his memorial addressed to

* The Dutch had formerly factories at *Gombroon*, *Bassora*, *Laar*, *Schiras*, and *Ispahan* in *Persia*, but their trade to that country has been for several years entirely abandoned. T.

Mr. PECOCK, his successor in the direction at *Surat*, “ that before the Company had any
 “ settled establishment at *Ceylon*, or on the
 “ coast of *Malabar*, *Surat* was the chief place
 “ and staple of their whole trade carried on
 “ throughout this part of the Indian sea;
 “ but it did not long remain so; our factory
 “ at *Surat* very soon decreased in importance,
 “ and this will appear most evident if we
 “ take a nearer view of the situation of each
 “ subordinate factory.”

“ Those of *Persia*, or *Gombroon*, as this department was called in the books of the
 “ Company, from the principal factory they
 “ had in that country, established in the year
 “ 1622, were constituted into an independent
 “ settlement in 1633, and put immediately
 “ under *Batavia*. The expences of the navigation between *Bassora* and *Batavia*, used
 “ to be charged to the account of *Surat*, but
 “ no longer than the year 1670, when that
 “ place was put entirely under *Gombroon*.”

“ The factory at *Mocha* was established in
 “ the year 1620, after two transitory expeditions of trade had been made thither: it
 “ has frequently been abandoned, and as
 “ often

“ often re-established; but in the year 1686,
 “ it was equally put under the immediate
 “ superintendence of *Batavia*.”

“ The factory at *Wingurla*, may have been
 “ established about the year 1655 *; but, in
 “ the year 1677, it was taken away from
 “ the direction of *Surat*, and added to the
 “ commandery of *Malabar*.”

“ The factory at *Agra*, was established
 “ in the year 1620, but was abandoned in
 “ the year 1716, in so far, that all the
 “ European servants, the effects of the Com-
 “ pany, &c. were removed from it, and only
 “ three or four natives left there, to keep
 “ the lodge, and in order that we might
 “ always be entitled to re-enter into the pos-
 “ session of it, if that be ever again thought
 “ necessary.”

“ The factory at *Amedabad* † was esta-
 “ blished

* There is a letter extant from the king of *Vijapur*, in whose dominions *Wingurla*, a place on the *Malabar* coast, not far north of *Goa*, lay, by which it appears that the Dutch Company had resident merchants there as early as 1641; and in a letter from their factors there, written in 1653, they say they had been seventeen or eighteen years settled there in the service of the Company. T.

† *Amedaba*, the mahomedan capital of *Guzurat*, is said to have received its name from AHMED, one of the first kings of
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“ blished in the year 1618, but was abandoned in the year 1744, and left on the same footing as that at *Agra*.”

“ The factory at *Baroche* * was established
“ in

the country; but it is not improbable that it is the *Amadavists* of *ARRIAN*. It is situated in $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude, on the east bank of the *Sabrematty*, a small, yet pleasant, wholesome, and constant stream. The walls, which still remain, are about six miles in circumference, and there is a very wide and deep ditch carried all round them. Besides this ditch, new works have been since constructed, where the original defences, either from decay, or situation, were judged insufficient. There are twelve gateways to pass in and out of the city. These gateways, and other parts of the wall, appear to have been fortified and adorned, at regular distances, with towers and cupolas, which, in the days of its splendour, must have equally contributed to strength and magnificent appearance. Within the city, and upon the banks of the river, there is an extensive inclosure, distinguished by the name of the *Bunder*, which was formerly the royal residence; it was strongly fortified in former times, and when *VALENTYN* wrote, it was thought by the Moors to be the securest fortress in all *Hindustan*, next to those of *Cabul* and *Candahar*. *THEVENOT* and *VALENTYN* give copious accounts of the magnificence of the mosques, and other public buildings, which in their time adorned the city of *Amedabad*. Without the walls, the suburbs, as is evident from their vestiges, must have extended to the distance of three miles round. But *Amedabad* has so greatly declined from its original splendour, that at this day not more than a quarter of the space, within the walls, is inhabited. T.

* *Baroche*, or *Barokia*, lies upon the river *Nerbedab*, about twenty-five miles from its mouth; halfway between the

“ in the year 1617, and is still continued,
 “ yet with very little circumstance, for there
 “ is but one junior merchant, and one book-
 “ keeper, who reside there as factors, and
 “ who have a few native servants under
 “ them.”

“ Our factories at *Chircees* * and *Brodera* †
 “ were established in the year 1620, as was
 “ that

town and the sea, the river divides itself into two branches, and forms a long and narrow island, on each side of which they run into the gulph of *Cambaya*, in the directions of E.S.E. and W.S.W. where there is an open road for ships in seven fathoms, mostly sandy bottom. The fortress of *Baroche* is large and square, standing upon a hill, which is the only eminence for many miles around, and might be made very strong. Very fine basts and other cottons are manufactured here; and the water of the river *Nerbedab* is said to have a peculiar property for bleaching of cloth to a perfect whiteness. Agates are likewise an article of trade at *Baroche*, which are brought from the mountains near *Brampour*, and are mostly disposed of at *Cambaya*. T.

* *Chircees*, or *Chirchees*, is a small town, about a league and a half from *Amedabad*. It has a great number of tombs of the kings and princes of *Guzurat*, whence the Indians believe that it was, in ancient times, the capital of that kingdom; but it is more probable that it was only the buryingplace of their kings, and that *Amedabad* was always their capital. The factory which the Dutch had here was established for the sake of purchasing indigo. T.

† *Brodera*, situate upon the little river *Dader*, is a modern town, in comparison with the others, having been built by
 the

“ that at *Cambaya* *, though the last may
 “ be said to have been begun in the year
 “ 1617: but these three were all entirely
 “ abandoned before the year 1670, although,
 “ for want of the necessary papers, the exact

the son of the last king of *Guzurat*, near the scite of an ancient town, formerly called *Radipore*, but now *Old Brodera*, which is now entirely gone to decay. It stands in a very fertile, though sandy, country. It has pretty good walls and towers, and is full of artizans, who make the finest stuffs of all *Guzurat*, bafts, nicanees, cannaquins, cheloes, &c. ; the cottons of *Brodera* are even finer than those of *Barocke*; but they are narrower and shorter. Indigo is also an article of trade here. T.

* *Cambaya* is a large city, lying at the bottom of the gulph of the same name, upon the north bank of the river *Canari*, which by some is called the *Mabi*. The tides are so swift at the north end of the gulph, that a horse, at full speed, cannot keep pace with the first waves; in the river they rise with great rapidity seven fathoms in ordinary tides, and at high water, ships can anchor near the town, but at low water, the river runs entirely dry, except three or four narrow channels, in which there remains about three feet water, so that the vessels in the river must lie quite aground, though they do not suffer much in that situation, from the bottom not being hard or sandy. The city is twice as large as *Surat*, but not near so populous. The streets are large, and have all gates at the ends, which are shut in the night-time, and there are twelve gates to the city, besides those of the streets, which are innumerable. There is a great trade carried on at *Cambaya*, by the Moorish, Armenian, and Arabian merchants, with *Persia*, *Mosha*, *Diu*, *Acbeon*, *Coromandel*, and other places. T.

“ year

oppressions and difficulties to which they are subjected here, to have recourse to *Bombay* : for it cannot otherwise be reconciled to the maxims of prudence or policy, that such unexampled extortions should be suffered to prevail in a subordinate factory, of which they cannot pretend ignorance, by reason of its proximity, and the notoriety of them, if there were no latent motives to encourage or tolerate such proceedings.

Our director, Mr. *SENF*, taking these circumstances into consideration, was of opinion, that it might be more advantageous for the interests of the Company, to use endeavours to get possession of some place, somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Bombay*, where we might ourselves be at hand to deal with the merchants of the *Deckan*, and thereby draw them again from their habits of resorting to the English for their supplies of our commodities.

That gentleman did not let the matter rest merely as an opinion, but he also was examining into the feasibility of putting his ideas in practice, when a very fit opportunity presented itself for that purpose, which was as follows:

One RANASSOIR SINAY, who had, for a long time, resided at *Bombay*, as the representative of the Maratta chief MADUROW, met with some ill treatment there, about the year 1767, and being, on that account, incensed against the English, he wrote a letter to Mr. SENF, in which he not only complained bitterly of their insupportable arrogance, but likewise intimated that there might now be an opportunity for the Dutch Company to attain what he knew they had long wished for, namely, the establishment of a factory at *Bazaim*, or thereabouts, and this gave occasion to a treaty between them: all which may be better understood from the extract of Mr. SENF's memorial on that head, from section xv to section xviii inclusive, and the documents referred to thereby.

Mr. SENF had before cast his thoughts towards some places in the gulph of *Cambaya*, and particularly upon *Goga**, whither he had sent a committee in the year 1765, who, under the appearance of a party of pleasure,

* *Goga* is a little town on the western side of the gulph of *Cambaya*, about twenty-eight or thirty leagues from *Cambaya*, and which THEVENOT says abounds with banians and peacocks. T.

surveyed the places in that neighbourhood, and the island *Peram*. But nothing resulted herefrom, as a safe anchoring-place for ships had no where been found: and there were other circumstances, on account of which this project could not be strongly insisted upon *.

But before I depart from this subject, I must remark, that, how great soever the influence and power of the English may have been, at the time of the revolution of 1759, yet they would never have been able to obtain possession of the castle, or to have got the authority so much in their own hands as they have done, had they not persuaded Mr. TAILLEFERT, our director at that time, to remain entirely inactive, and to let them do as they liked, without interruption.

It must, however, appear surprising to every one, that a man of a sound understanding, as that gentleman was said to possess, did not make any use of the respectable force which he had, at that time, at his disposal, both in ships and in troops, which was at least sufficient to enable him to frustrate the designs

* See the report on that subject, delivered in the 19th of November, 1765. S.

of the English, if he did not choose to take possession himself of the castle for his masters, which was offered to him, without the least fear of the effusion of blood; for it would have been effected in the following manner:

The Company's brokers, MANTCHERGI, and GOVENRAM, who were both living, and who both related the affair to me, when I was at *Surat*, were to have been seized, and put under arrest, under some pretext or other, in the castle, and Mr. TAILLEFERT was then to have sent a strong detachment of troops to the castle, to require their release as persons in the service of the Dutch East-India Company; and this detachment were, by agreement, being let into the castle for that purpose, to make themselves instantly masters of it.

Nevertheless, the English chief, Mr. SPENCER, had the address to persuade Mr. TAILLEFERT to remain inactive, either by great promises, or by other means.

The truth of these circumstances appears so evident, even from the public papers of the time, that it is not necessary to insist upon the private testimony of the Company's brokers, or of all the individuals of con-
sideration

sideration among the natives, who bear witness to them ; for what could otherwise have induced Mr. SPENCER, before the commencement of the attack, and when he was at the head of the troops, to write, of his own accord, his letter of the 18th of February, 1759, by which he guaranteed, in the strongest manner, all the privileges as well of the Company as of individuals, provided they observed a strict neutrality ? and what could otherwise have induced Mr. TAILLEFERT to give, by his answer of the 20th of the same month, not only assurances of friendship and neutrality, but likewise to declare, expressly, that for some time past he had given orders that none of his people should give any offence to the English, and much less act inimically towards them ; and also that he had, for some days, been present in person with most of the Company's servants at their garden, or wharf, in order to be the better able to prevent, either the governor of the castle, or any one else, from making any use of the Company's territory and artillery ? It would equally be matter of surprise, if it were not with the utmost satisfaction that Mr. TAILLEFERT agreed to this neutrality, why he refused the

repeated

repeated offers made to him by the governor of the castle, as has before been mentioned, first indirectly, afterwards verbally, and then publicly and in writing, to deliver the castle into the hands of the Dutch Company, in despite of the English and of their menaces : for the reasons which he alleges for that refusal, in his secret dispatches of the 10th of March 1759, chiefly consisting in the presumption, that the governor of the castle had no authority from his master for that purpose, and in the apprehension that, if we were to take possession of the castle, the English might, at least, claim an indemnification from us for the expences of the expedition which they had begun ; or if we refused to satisfy their demands, act against us with open hostility, and perhaps compel us to the abandonment of the fortress, with more disgrace, than the acquisition of it was accomplished with facility ; these arguments, I say, are far from being sufficient to counterbalance the indubitable maxim, that in matters of the utmost importance and necessity, the most perilous remedies must be resorted to, and the utmost hazard incurred, rather than be forced to yield to the superiority of rivals.

It is therefore thought, that some palpable mistake, or abuse, was committed herein; for it is not otherwise possible to believe that Mr. TAILLIEFERT, acquainted so long beforehand of the designs of the English, should have tamely remained a spectator of their execution, without attempting the least opposition; the more so, as he had, at that time, under his command, a strong garrison of brave troops exasperated against the English, together with a good number of European seamen.

After all, our people were justified in expecting, as a recompence for their inactivity and neutrality, that the formal written assurances, first given by Mr. SPENCER by orders from the presidency of *Bombay*, and afterwards direct by the council of *Bombay*, that they would maintain us in all the privileges which had been granted to us by the mogul emperors, and that they would not suffer any infraction to be made in them, would be religiously adhered to, and have been followed by active exertions in consequence. But nothing was less their intention than to fulfil these fine promises and assurances, which had merely served for the purpose of
lulling

lulling a too credulous governor into security and inactivity. They even, on the contrary, soon began to manifest their desires, if not to nullify, at least to curtail those very privileges they had engaged to maintain; for Mr. SPENCER, the hero of the piece, whom I have so often mentioned, was no sooner in the safe possession of the castle, than he gave many grounds of complaint to our people, as appears from some letters written soon after by Mr. TAILLEFERT himself.

One HODGES too, an English chief, ventured far beyond the bounds of justice and equity towards us. Availing of the inability of our director, Mr. DRABBE, he sought to overthrow at once the honour, the esteem, and the prosperity of our Company; for it was solely through his influence, and at his instigation, that the nabob compelled our servants, in the year 1762, after a long investment, or siege, of their factory, not only to pay a heavy contribution in ready money, but also to submit to the most humiliating conditions that can well be imagined.

To enumerate all the injuries which our nation have sustained from them here, since that time, and to enter into a particular detail

detail of our subjects of complaint ; of the difficulties which we experienced, before we could obtain their consent to remove the effects of the Company out of the factory in the city, to the garden, or wharf, and to land and house the merchandize we imported there, notwithstanding the second article of the twenty-ninth *firman*, which, together with all the other privileges granted to us, they had in so solemn a manner guaranteed to us, and promised to maintain ; particularly empowered us to do of their illiberal conduct with respect to the repairs we wanted to make at the powder-magazine on the wharf, although the persons they had themselves deputed to inspect into it, had testified the necessity of the repairs intended ; of the obligation under which they attempted to bring the Company, to let the goods which were to be exported be *chiapped* by an officer appointed by them, in conjunction with the one appointed for that purpose by the governor of the city, although the latter had always before been alone authorized to do it, and the governor of the castle had never been allowed to interfere in this commercial transaction, and which, if our people had not positively resisted,

resisted, would have subjected them for ever to the caprices of the English, in this important matter ; of the compulsion which one PRICE exercised, in order to obtain all the sugar brought to *Surat*, in private trade, at a very low rate, and which even prevails at present, as I have before related, and instanced by what happened to myself ; of the indecent and outrageous manner in which HODGES claimed the effects of one KLIN-KAERT, who had been our comptroller of equipment, but had deserted, and was taken under the protection of the English chief, and when they were refused to be delivered, his violent conduct in sending an ensign with a strong detachment of military to seize them, and carry them away by force, causing the Company's seals, which had been affixed to those effects, to be torn off by a subaltern officer ; of the ill treatment which our brokers underwent, in defiance of the rights of the Company, under whose protection, and in whose service they were, and consequently subject to no jurisdiction but that of our director and council ; of the excesses and outrages committed by the English, in the year 1772, at our factory at *Baroche*, when they

“ year of their abandonment cannot be de-
 “ terminately pointed out.”

“ Thus, out of all these factories, the chief,
 “ such as those at *Gombroon*, *Bassora*, *Mocha*,
 “ and *Wingurla*, have been taken away from
 “ the direction of *Surat*, and either rendered
 “ independent, or put under some other head-
 “ settlement : the others have, indeed, been
 “ left to *Surat*, and are still reckoned to be
 “ under its jurisdiction, but their number and
 “ consequence are so diminished, that that of
 “ *Baroche* alone may be looked upon as really
 “ in existence ; while those of *Agra* and
 “ *Amedabad* are merely nominal in the books
 “ of the Company, and the charges which
 “ are annually paid for them, would be
 “ wholly superfluous, were they not incurred
 “ to retain possession of the lodges or factory-
 “ houses there, in order that our right to
 “ them may be kept alive.” So far goes
 the memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER before
 alluded to.

The factory of *Surat* has always been, with
 justice, considered as one of the most advan-
 tageous establishments of the Company in
 India. The goods which they brought to
 market there, having become, by the luxury
 of

of the Moors, articles of the first necessity, always met a ready vent; and as the Company were the exclusive importers of them, they made whatever prices they chose to require, or could command, according to the more or less quantity they might please to import.

In the statement of the profits made by the Company's trade to *Surat*, during a period of about eighty years, commencing in the years 1662-1663, and terminating in the years 1749-1750, annexed to the before-mentioned memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER, addressed to his successor, Mr. PECOCK, I find, that in the first ten years, from 1662-1663, to 1673-1674, of which the profits for the years 1671-1672, and 1673-1674, could not be computed, as the books of those years were wanting, they amounted upon an average annually to $520\frac{11}{2}$ per cent upon the finer spices, being in money a yearly sum gained upon them alone, of £.334,560. 9. 8.*

And for the ten years, from 1688-1689, to 1697-1698, they yielded every year, upon an average, $850\frac{1}{4}$ per cent gain, or in money the sum of £.509,464. 1. 2. †, while

* Or about £.30,415 sterling. T.

† About £.46,315 sterling. T.

in those ten years a further annual average profit of $f.255,929. 3. 5.$ * was made upon the other goods, although only in the proportion of $59\frac{3}{4}$ per cent upon their prime cost.

But these profits gradually decreased after that period. Those upon the spices have, indeed, rendered a higher proportion per cent, and in the year 1731-1732, they were even 2400 per cent upon the prime cost; but the consumption was, on the other hand, so small, that in the ten years, in which that extraordinary proportion of gain appeared, namely, from 1730-1731, to 1739-1740, the real annual average profit, in money, scarcely amounted to one-fifth part of the sums before made with a lesser advance upon the prime cost †.

The

* About $£.23,266$ sterling. 7.

† By VALENTYN'S account, the Dutch formerly gained at *Surat*,

upon cloves,	$665\frac{1}{3}\frac{3}{4}$	per cent,
upon nutmegs,	$1453\frac{1}{8}$	per cent,
upon mace,	$718\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$	per cent,
upon copper in bars,	$128\frac{3}{8}$	per cent,
upon ditto in plates,	$31\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$	per cent,
upon benzoin,	42	per cent,
upon gumlack,	$34\frac{7}{8}$	per cent,
upon quicksilver,	$27\frac{7}{8}$	per cent,
upon vermillion,	$19\frac{7}{8}$	per cent,

The great decrease in the profits, under the last administration, which are not but one-

The other articles imported were, cinnamon, pepper, camphor, cardemom, aloes, succotrine, areca, sapanwood, elephant's teeth, fandalwood, woollen cloths, tin, lead in sheets, cowries, tea, china, sugar, coral in branches, radix china, ebony, &c.; and in return they purchased various kinds of piece-goods, as gold and silver allegars, and common ditto, 120 ps. per bale; chintzes cheron; broad and narrow chintzes; blue bafts of *Amedabad*, half ditto, ditto, 200 ps. per bale; narrow white bafts of *Barocbe*, 160 ps. per bale; black fine ditto, 1200 ps. per bale; broad white ditto, 100 ps. per bale; silk chindoes, 160 ps. per bale; black cannequins, per pack of 4 ps.; white ditto, 400 ps. per bale; quilted cottons, per pack of 4 ps.; nicanees, 120 ps. per bale; petolas, or painted silks; choutarees deriabady of *Agra*, 70 ps. per bale; mammoodies of *Talalpour*, 60 and 55 ps. per bale, &c. likewise indigo from *Agra* by packs of 4 maunds of 53 lb. each; indigo chircees per 4 maunds of *Amedabad*, at 34½ lb. per maund; candied mirabolans, 69 lb. or 2 maunds, in a bladder; hing, or assa foetida, per maund of 40 lb.; rasfala, or borax; opium of *Malva*, per pack of 99½ lb.; soap of *Surat*, 225 lb. per chest; red ealing wax of *Surat*, 5½ lb. per box; cotton-yarn, wheat, &c. And the clear profits of the head-factory amounted yearly to six or seven tons of gold (£55,000 to £64,000 sterling). Governor MOSSEL recommended the prosecution of the trade from *Latavia* to *Surat*, and that two large ships should be annually dispatched with 80,000 lb. of cloves, 30,000 lb. of nutmegs, 3,000 lb. of mace, 2,000 lb. of cinnamon, 200,000 lb. of Japan copper, 100,000 lb. of tin, and 2,000,000 lb. of sugar, both raw and candied, which he calculated as the yearly consumption of *Surat*, and whereupon he reckoned that about £800,000 (£73,000 sterling), might be gained; but matter,

have

one-half, as much as those under Mr. *SENF*, against which the charges have only diminished about seven thousand gilders, may principally be attributed to the civil commotions, and distracted state of the country, whereby the expedition of goods has been greatly obstructed, and is still very difficult; one cause must likewise be sought in the decay of the city of *Surat* itself; and another in the small number of ships and scanty supplies that are sent thither from *Batavia*, and which are, sometimes, even confined to a solitary cargo*.

This

have much altered since his time here, as well as in every part of India. *T.*

* From these untoward circumstances, it has more than once been in the contemplation of the Dutch Company to remove their *Surat* trade entirely to the coast of *Malabar*, and particularly to *Cochin*, where, being the territorial sovereigns, they might have neither the rapacious exactions of a Moorish government, nor the successful rivalry of enterprising competitors, to fear; but *HUYSEN*s attributes the decline of their *Surat* trade more to the last circumstance mentioned in the text, namely, the little activity of the trade from *Batavia*, than to any of the others, and conceives, that if a more abundant supply of spices, Japan copper, and Jaccatra sugar, were sent forward, the quantity of which had of late years been remarkably deficient, the profits of the *Surat* trade would again become very considerable; as upon every cargo of those arti-

This decline of *Surat* itself is, in the first place, a consequence of the almost total annihilation of the power and authority of the mogul emperors, by which many of the native rajahs and nations have risen into consideration, particularly the Marattas, and having shaken off the mogul yoke, have assumed the sovereign authority themselves. Hence they have either seized upon every thing that passed through their dominions, or if they did not do this, they at least have exacted heavy contributions from the merchants, under the denomination of duties, and have even, as we have before seen, laid the city of *Surat* under contribution.

Secondly, the proximity of *Bombay*, has
 cles a clear gain of at least 40 per cent, may be rationally calculated upon. In 1779, the books of the factory at *Surat* were closed with an advance of *f*.283,207 (about £.25,746 sterling), being after deduction of all the charges, with exception of those of one or two ships sent thither from *Batavia*, which may amount to about *f*.100,000.—so that the clear gains may scarcely be said to amount to two tons of gold, (about £.18,000 sterling). In that year the goods sent to *Surat* were no more than 1,715,718 *lb*. of sugar, 20,002 *lb*. of cloves, and a small quantity of nutmegs and mace. The only articles sent to Europe out of the returns from *Surat*, are gamboge, cotton-yarn, and cotton-cloths, of which last the value of *f*.260,000 (about £.23,636 sterling) was sold in Holland in the year 1778. T.

been

been of great prejudice to *Surat* ; that settlement, on the other hand, flourishes more and more, from day to day, owing to the entire liberty of exportation which is there allowed. Foreign merchants do not suffer oppression there, but are favoured and encouraged: protection and security are afforded them both by water and by land. *Bombay* is likewise situated nearer to the *Deccan* than *Surat*, and to this it must chiefly be attributed, that the entire commerce of that wealthy country has been diverted to the English settlement, from *Surat*, which formerly enjoyed all the advantages of it.

In the third place, the decay of *Surat* is not a little owing to the superiority which the English have attained there since the last revolution. The arrogant and arbitrary conduct of that nation, makes the merchants averse to engage in extensive enterprizes of trade, and the capitalists are afraid of putting out their money to interest, or of risking it in the operation of commerce.

Existing facts are sufficient to prove, that if they cannot turn the current of trade according to their own choice, and to the advantage of their own pockets, they will en-

deavour to impede it by all the obstacles, which a despotic authority puts in their power. I have myself experienced their selfish conduct in this respect; the English chief, their councillor SITTON, and the nabob, caused an interdiction to be laid upon all the native merchants, that they should not purchase of me any of the articles I had brought with me in private trade, and especially not any sugar, in order that I might be compelled to sell them at the rates which they might choose to give for them; and they even engaged the concurrence, in this respect, of the chief persons in our direction, that they might equally prohibit the Company's brokers, who are otherwise the chief merchants, from purchasing of me.

By these, and many other unjust, or let me rather say, iniquitous methods, the trade of this formerly so flourishing emporium, which was justly esteemed the most considerable commercial place of India, runs to decay from day to day; and this, to all appearances, quadrates exactly with the secret views which may be supposed to actuate the members of the government at *Bombay*; namely, to compel the merchants, by means of the oppressions

they made no scruple of investing the Company's lodge with an armed force, keeping the persons of their servants in confinement, and breaking open the warehouses, chests, boxes, &c.: to give a particular detail, I say, of all these injurious transactions, as they are recorded at length in the papers of the Company, and of which, other accompanying and aggravating circumstances have been related to me, would entirely take up the little remaining time I have appropriated for the purpose of noting down only what is most remarkable at *Surat*, and in the Company's affairs there. The instances that I have thus slightly touched upon, are enough to shew the arrogant and arbitrary disposition and conduct of a nation whose inveterate hatred of the Dutch is too notorious to admit of dispute; and likewise the unpleasant and cruel situation in which our Company are placed, both here and in *Bengal*.

It would be a most desirable circumstance, if the English were shut out, from trading to other places, where we are possessed of the territorial power; or, at least, that their trade were not preferably encouraged both by the Company and by individuals.

CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Marattas.—Their Wars with the Moguls.—Government.—Predatory Disposition.—Military Establishment.—Conduct when in the Field.—Account of their Camps, &c.—Tributes paid to them.—Their Territories.—Revenues.—Account of the Patans, or Afghans.—Their Origin.—Their warlike Genius, &c.

I HAVE several times before made mention of the Marattas, and the influence which this people have at present in the affairs of *Hindustan*, render them deserving of being better known; and it is requisite to give as many particulars of this extensive people as can be ascertained: the following account of them, which I met with in an English work, will therefore not be improper in this place:

“ As the Marattas have no written history, and scarcely any tradition, that we know, of their former state, it is impossible

“ possible to procure a full and satisfactory
 “ account of so numerous a nation, once set-
 “ tled, then dispersed, and now re-establish-
 “ ing themselves throughout all parts of the
 “ mogul empire : a people who have had,
 “ from time immemorial, settlements to the
 “ north of *Dehly*, great part of which they
 “ still possess; though so great were the num-
 “ bers that were driven out from thence,
 “ by AURENGZEBE, that he employed above
 “ twenty years in fruitless endeavours to re-
 “ duce them in their new settlements in the
 “ mountainous parts of the *Deckan* *.

“ They have had continued wars ever

* The Maratta states in the *Deckan* are the only people of
Hindustan, who were never effectually subdued, and who
 never unanimously acknowledged themselves vassals to the
 throne of *Dehly*. AURENGZEBE himself, unable to conquer
 them, found it prudent, for the sake of peace, to yield to
 them the sovereignty of part of the *Deckan*. They even
 carried the terror of their arms into the heart of *Dehly*,
 whence they carried off vast treasures; and they continued
 their depredations, first in the country around that seat of
 empire, and then in the kingdoms of *Bengal*, *Babar*, and
Orissa : until, in consideration of the cession to them of the
 province of *Catac*, and an annual tribute of twelve lacks of
 rupees, they concluded a treaty of peace with ALLAVERDI
 CHAN, who was possessed of the soubaship of *Bengal*, in
 the year 1750. T.

“ since with all the moguls, subahs, and
 “ governors, and made innumerable treaties
 “ of peace with them, which they never
 “ observe any longer than they think it
 “ their interest. They have themselves had
 “ strange internal revolutions, and what is
 “ most strange, the present governing men
 “ among them are brahmins, or priests,
 “ hated by the true Marattas, but followed
 “ by them for pay.”

“ Their *rajah*, or prince, is sacred ; and
 “ they hold that he ought to be a kind of
 “ idol, shut up, and fed at the public ex-
 “ pence, and the executive power lodged in
 “ some other branch of his family ; at least,
 “ such has been the establishment on the
 “ *Malabar* coast : but this was subverted by
 “ the usurpation of the two brahmins, the
 “ one called PEELAGEE, and the other
 “ BUDGEROW. PEELAGEE governed Gu-
 “ zurat, and BUDGEROW the country to the
 “ southward.”

“ His son, who succeeded him, is known
 “ by his name BALAZEROW, on the *Coro-*
 “ *mandel* coast : on the *Malabar* he is call-
 “ ed the NANNA, for that is the title by
 “ which the acting head of the govern-

“ ment,

ment, and general of the forces, is distinguished."

"The nominal prince, or the idol, as he has been described, is styled RAM RAJAH, and SAHA RAJAH *."

"All these names, indiscriminately used, and strangely spelt, occasion no small difficulty to the reader of the writings concerning these people, who is also desired to take notice, that though all authors speak of *Sattaarah* as the capital of the Maratta country, the residence of the brahmin their sovereign, is *Poonah*, about a hundred miles east-south-east of *Bombay* †, where all the business of the government is carried on."

"What proves that they have formerly been powerful over all the mogul empire, though now disunited, is the universal acknowledgment of the *chout*, or tribute, paid to them, of a fourth of the revenues of every *rajah*, or governor."

* Likewise the SAHOO, or SOU, from the last king who actually reigned. T.

† "D'ANVILLE says, the situation of *Sattaarah* is not ascertained, and therefore he has not put it in his map." T.

“ This they still collect in all parts, taking
 “ what they can get of it in ready money,
 “ and leaving the balance in arrear, which
 “ will serve them at least as a pretence for
 “ another incursion, whenever they want
 “ employment for their troops *.”

“ It may seem strange that these Ma-
 “ rattas, who are brahmins, and so strict
 “ observers of the Gentoo religion, and the
 “ tenets of the transmigration of souls, that
 “ they will never kill the most offensive
 “ animals that crawl about them, should,
 “ without any scruple, eagerly employ their

* Their natural fastnesses and inaccessible mountains, which conspired with their native bravery to preserve the Marattas from the mogul yoke, account for their predatory habits, their neglect of agriculture, and invincible love of arms. Among this race of warriors, that generous hospitality, both towards strangers and each other, which in former times so eminently characterized the manners of the east, is still observed with sacred, and even superstitious exactness. Their military establishment, which is chiefly composed of cavalry, is about three hundred thousand ; but these are not to be considered as regulars, or permanent troops, but as an established militia. In judging of the Maratta force, we are also to observe, that it is an invariable custom among their troops, when an expedition is concluded, to retire with what plunder they may have collected, to their respective abodes ; leaving with the chiefs only what may be called their body-guards. T.

“ fabres

“fabres to the destruction of their fellow-
 “creatures. The salvo for this extraor-
 “dinary contradiction, is a device of their
 “priests, who, by the sacrifice of a buf-
 “falo, with many mysterious and enthusi-
 “astic ceremonies, absolve their warriors
 “from the restrictions which bind the vul-
 “gar.”

“It should be here observed, that the
 “Marattas, mentioned so often in the nar-
 “rative *, were only a body of horse, free-
 “booters, who alternately took the pay
 “of the highest bidder. They were such
 “as MORAROW † had picked up to follow
 “his fortunes; and, till he attempted to
 “make himself independent, they had no

* Of the war on the coast of *Coromandel*, in the year 1750. T.

† MORAROW, who is often mentioned in CAMBRIDGE'S account of the war in India, was a Maratta, who, by supporting the divisions in the country, had made himself considerable from a small beginning; he sided with no party, but as he found his advantage in it, and as easily changed sides; he commanded about 3000 very good horse. When not employed or paid by any prince, he scoured the country for himself, and raised contributions where he could get most, and with the least risk. His real master was the NANA SAHA RAJAH, but he obeyed his orders only in proportion as they coincided with his own views. T.

“ settled habitation, and no profession but
 “ war, if it may be called a profession,
 “ where they have neither art nor dis-
 “ cipline: and yet they are formidable to
 “ the Moors, who, carrying such numerous
 “ and encumbered armies to the field, are
 “ the easier harassed, and even starved by
 “ them; for these pillagers, continually gal-
 “ loping round the country, cut off the con-
 “ voys; and as most of the parties carry
 “ with them neither baggage nor provisions,
 “ they easily elude all pursuit, and, in an
 “ instant, retire to their fastnesses, or even,
 “ if occasion require, to their own country.
 “ They ride a hardy horse, inured to fa-
 “ tigue, and for the most part fed with
 “ standing corn. The common men have
 “ no clothing but a turband on their head,
 “ and a sash round their waist: instead of a
 “ saddle they use such a kind of pad as is
 “ recommended by Marshal SAXE. Truly
 “ formidable with their sabres, they are fa-
 “ tal to troops that are once broke.
 “ They are a destructive foe, and an un-
 “ serviceable friend. They ruin their ene-
 “ mies by burning their country, and their
 “ allies by their avaricious demands for
 “ money.

“ money. Instead of meriting their pay,
 “ which they might easily do after a defeat,
 “ by cutting off all the broken troops, they
 “ fly to the camp, where every one procures
 “ a good burden for his horse, and walking
 “ on foot drives him away loaded with the
 “ spoil*.”

“ The

* With the above, it may not be uninteresting to compare and contrast the following picture of the more regular armies of the Marattas, from DIROM's *Narrative of the Campaign against TIPPOO SAIB, in 1792.*—“ The chiefs themselves,
 “ and all the Marattas in their suite, and, indeed, all their people, were remarkably plain, but neat, in their appearance.
 “ Mild in their aspect, humane in their disposition, polite and
 “ unaffected in their address, they are distinguished by obedience to their chiefs, and attachment to their country.
 “ There were not to be seen among them those fantastic figures
 “ in armour, so common among the mahomedans, in the
 “ nizam's, or, as they styled themselves, the mogul's army; adventurers collected from every quarter of the east, who, priding themselves on individual valour, think it beneath them
 “ to be useful but on the day of battle, and, when that comes,
 “ prove only the inefficiency of numbers, unconnected by any
 “ general principle of union or of discipline. The Maratta
 “ camp was at the distance of about six miles from our's, and,
 “ on approaching it, had the appearance of a large irregular
 “ town, for the chiefs pitch their standards around their general without order; and their tents being of all sizes, and of
 “ many different colours, at a distance, resemble houses, rather
 “ than canvás. The streets, too, of their camp, crossing and
 “ winding in every direction, display a variety of merchandize,
 “ as in a great fair. There are shroffs, or money-changers,
 “ jewellers,

“ The Marattas, though not without
 “ trade and manufactures, have principally
 “ enriched

“ jewellers, smiths, mechanics, and people of every trade and
 “ description, as busily employed in their occupations, and at-
 “ tending as minutely to their interest, as if they were in
 “ *Poonab*, and at peace. The park of artillery, where all their
 “ guns are collected, made an extraordinary appearance. The
 “ gun-carriages, in which they trust to the solidity of the tim-
 “ ber, and use but little iron in their construction, are clumsy
 “ beyond belief, particularly the wheels, which are low, and
 “ formed of large solid pieces of wood united. The guns are
 “ of all sorts and dimensions; and, having the names of their
 “ gods given to them, are painted in the most fantastic man-
 “ ner; and many of them, held in esteem for the services they
 “ are said to have already performed for the state, cannot now
 “ be dispensed with, although, in every respect, unfit for use.
 “ Were the guns even serviceable, the small supply of ammu-
 “ nition with which they are provided, has always effectually
 “ prevented the Maratta artillery from being formidable to
 “ their enemies. The Maratta infantry is composed of black
 “ christians, and despicable poor wretches of the lowest caste,
 “ uniform in nothing but the bad state of their musquets, none
 “ of which are either clean or complete; and few are provided
 “ with either ammunition or accoutrements: they are com-
 “ manded by half-caste people of Portuguese and French ex-
 “ traction, who draw off the attention of spectators from the
 “ bad clothing of their men, by the profusion of antiquated lace
 “ bestowed on their own; and if there happen to be a few Eu-
 “ ropeans among the officers and men, which is sometimes the
 “ case, they execrate the service, and deplore their fate. The
 “ Marattas do not appear to treat their infantry with more re-
 “ spect than they deserve, as they ride through them without
 “ any ceremony on the march, and on all occasions evidently
 “ consider

“ enriched themselves, by obliging the more
 “ wealthy and respectable powers, their
 “ neighbours, to be tributary to them.”

“ It

“ consider them as foreigners, and a very inferior class of people
 “ and troops. Indeed the attention of the Marattas is directed
 “ entirely to their horses and bazars, those being the only
 “ objects which immediately affect their interest. On a
 “ marching-day, the guns and the infantry move off soon
 “ after day-light; the bazars and baggage move nearly about
 “ the same time, as soon as they can be packed up and got
 “ ready. The guns and tumbrils, sufficiently unwieldy
 “ without further burden, are so heaped with stores and bag-
 “ gage, that there does not seem to be any idea of its ever
 “ being necessary to unlimber, and prepare for action on the
 “ march. As there are no pioneers attached to the Maratta
 “ artillery to repair the roads, this deficiency is compensated
 “ by an additional number of cattle, there being sometimes a
 “ hundred, or a hundred and fifty bullocks, in a string of
 “ pairs, to one gun: the drivers, who are very expert, sit on
 “ the yokes, and pass over every impediment, commonly on
 “ a trot. The chiefs remain upon the ground, without tents,
 “ smoking their hookahs, till the artillery and baggage have
 “ got on some miles; they then follow, each pursuing his own
 “ route, attended by his principal people; while the inferiors
 “ disperse, to forage and plunder over the country.”

“ A few days after the junction of the Maratta armies, an
 “ irregular fire of cannon and musquetry was heard in their
 “ camp, between nine and ten at night. The troops imme-
 “ diately turned out in our camp, and stood to their arms,
 “ thinking that TIPPoo had certainly attacked the Marattas;
 “ but it proved to be only the celebration of one of their
 “ ceremonies, in which they salute the new moon on its first
 “ appearance

“ It will naturally be asked, why do the
 “ opulent states submit to be tributary? and

“ appearance. Another circumstance occurred soon after, also
 “ characteristic of their customs and discipline. The ground
 “ on which our army had encamped at the junction being
 “ bare of grass, and extremely dirty, Lord CORNWALLIS was
 “ desirous of marching; and sent to the Maratta chiefs to re-
 “ quest they would move next morning, as their camp lay
 “ directly in our route. They returned for answer, ‘ that
 “ they should be happy to obey his lordship’s commands; but
 “ as they had halted eight days it was not lucky, nor could
 “ they, according to the custom of their religion, march on
 “ the ninth day. His lordship gave way to their superstitious
 “ prejudice, and deferred his march.”

“ The armies of the allies, having sometimes to pass beyond
 “ our camp to their ground, it was highly entertaining to see
 “ them in motion the whole day; the chiefs in different
 “ groups, moguls and Marattas alternately, themselves and
 “ their principal attendants mounted on elephants, distin-
 “ guished by their state-flags and nagars also borne on ele-
 “ phants. They were surrounded by cavalry, with their
 “ various standards, and preceded by their bards, and bands
 “ of music, who sung the praises of their masters, and the
 “ heroes of their nation. Group succeeding group; ele-
 “ phants, camels, pikemen, standard-bearers; horsemen in-
 “ numerable, armed with sword and shield, with lances, bows
 “ and arrows, and every variety of ancient and modern arms
 “ and armour; tilts and tournaments for exercise; and a con-
 “ tinual discharge of pistols and carbines, displayed the jubi-
 “ lee of their march. A spectacle so wild and irregular, yet
 “ so grand and interesting, resembled more the visions of ro-
 “ mance, than any assemblage that can be supposed to have
 “ existence in real life.” Pages 8-13, 23 and 24. T.

“ what

“ what security have they that these licentious
 “ plunderers will abide by their agreements,
 “ and not continually encroach upon them,
 “ and raise their demands ? The reason is
 “ plain : it is less expensive, and a lighter
 “ tax upon trade, to agree to some certain
 “ payment, than to engage in the unknown
 “ expence of armies, to free themselves
 “ from so irregular a foe : and as to greater
 “ exactions, if the chief have once settled
 “ the *chout*, he will hardly venture to strug-
 “ gle for more, as the money agreed on
 “ goes into his own pocket ; and were he
 “ to proceed to the more violent method of
 “ compulsion, by invading the country, the
 “ spoil would all become the property of
 “ his troops, under the article of plunder,
 “ and his own share would come very short
 “ of the sum stipulated ; besides, they have
 “ the prudence to consider, that a country
 “ ravaged by their troops, will produce nei-
 “ ther tribute nor plunder again for some
 “ time.”

“ Such has been, in a great measure, the
 “ state of the Maratta people ; but about this
 “ time (1755) it appears, that they enter-
 “ tained various designs of extending their
 “ territories

“ territories in several parts of the country,
 “ and also on the sea-coast. They took
 “ large districts from the viceroy of the
 “ *Deckan*, marched to *Dehly*, and made a
 “ mogul, and after driving out *ANGRIA* by
 “ our strength, beat the Portuguese by their
 “ own. They had generals who set up for
 “ themselves in the remote countries that
 “ they had conquered, and were giving
 “ some other indications of their return
 “ from a vagabond life of rapine and dis-
 “ order, to a more settled system of policy *.

“ The

* The territories of the Marattas, extend from the neigh-
 bourhood of *Goa*, on the coast of *Malabar*, to the river *Paddar*,
 which discharges itself into the gulph of *Scindy*, and which
 divides *Guzurat* from the dominions of *Persia*. On the east
 they are bounded by the *Carnatic*, by the English Company's
 northern circars, and by the dominions of the soubah of the
Deckan: but the province of *Cutac* stretches in a winding
 course to the bay of *Bengal*. Their revenues were originally
 very great. Before the usurpations of *HYDER ALI CHAN*, in
 the kingdom of *Mysore*, and around it, they amounted to about
 seventeen millions of pounds sterling. Afterwards their annual
 revenue was computed to be still equal to twelve millions; and
 by the conditions of peace imposed upon *TIPPOO SAIB*, by
 Lord *CORNWALLIS*, at the conclusion of the campaign of
 1792, he ceded to the Marattas a tract of country, yielding
 a yearly revenue of 13,16,666.6 *Canteray* pagodas, which are
 worth three rupees each, making therefore 493,750*l.* sterling.

The

“ The Marattas have been a great check
 “ upon the Moorish government, and it is
 “ owing to their arms alone that the ma-
 “ homedans have been prevented from the
 “ usurpation of the whole peninsula.”

“ As the Moors are a luxurious people,
 “ in a few years of peace they grow ener-
 “ vated by their debaucheries, and soon de-
 “ generate into sloth and effeminacy. It
 “ may also be added, that a general cor-
 “ ruption of manners, and treachery to one
 “ another, would greatly conduce to ren-
 “ der them an easy prey to the Marattas,
 “ whenever they should take the resolution
 “ to expel them the country. And though
 “ there is not a governor, in the highest
 “ rank of power and independency, but
 “ who styles himself, a thousand times, in
 “ the ordinary transactions of the day, *the*
 “ *slave of the Mogul*, there is not one of

The total of the annual revenues of all the districts ceded on that occasion by TIPPoo amounted to pagodas 39,50,098. 9. 87 thirty-nine and a half lacks of rupees additional revenues to each of the three confederate powers, the English East-India Company the Nizam, or Subah, of the *Deckan*, and the Marattas, or one hundred and eighteen and a half lacks of rupees for the whole; being one-half of TIPPoo's annual revenue before the war. T.

“ them

“ them in the whole empire that pays the
 “ least regard to the most solemn orders of
 “ that monarch, or that will march his
 “ troops to quell any dangerous commotion,
 “ or stir for the preservation of the life or
 “ throne of his master.”

“ The only balance to the power of the
 “ Marattas, is a race of northern people,
 “ inhabiting the mountains of *Candabar*,
 “ commonly known in India by the name
 “ of Patans, though they are more gene-
 “ rally called Agwans, or Afghans, on the
 “ other side of the country; and under that
 “ name they conquered *Ispahan* in the year
 “ 1722.”

“ They are mahomedans, yet no less
 “ enemies to the Moorish government than
 “ the Marattas or other Indians. They
 “ are said to have been descended from an
 “ ancient colony of Arabians, who entered
 “ the country four hundred years before
 “ TAMERLANE, and built the city of *Ma-*
 “ *sulipatam*; thence extending their con-
 “ quests northward, they founded *Patna* in
 “ *Bengal*. (or rather *Babar*), and at last
 “ overran the whole country to the west,
 “ and

“ and were masters of *Debly* when TAMER-
 “ LANE first appeared in India *.”

“ As they were always reckoned good
 “ soldiers, they are now considered as the
 “ very best infantry in the whole empire ;
 “ and it is natural to suppose they should be
 “ such, since they have been inhabitants of
 “ the northern mountains.”

“ This warlike nation made themselves
 “ formidable to NADIR SHAH, in his
 “ march † ; and after that conqueror had
 “ left

* Mr. HANWAY gives a different account of the origin of the Afghans ; and for a particular detail of their customs, history, disposition, &c. and of their invasion and conquest of *Persia* in 1722, the reader is referred to his *Revolutions of Persia*, vol. i.

† On NADIR SHAH's return from India with his army, laden with immense treasures, he was stopped at the river *Indus*, for want of a sufficient number of boats to form a bridge. This delay afforded time to the Afghans and the Indians, who inhabited the western side of the river, to take up arms. The vast booty which the Persians had amassed, was a temptation not to be resisted ; and they seemed resolved to try their fortune, if, by uniting their forces, they could not seize some part of the plunder. They attained their object, though without trying their strength ; for the Persian king thought himself in danger, and chose rather to negotiate for a free passage, than run a hazard where there was nothing to gain. The consideration of a vast treasure, rendered the fierce and intrepid NADIR,

“ left the mogul empire in the weak and
 “ indefensible state to which he had re-
 “ duced it, the Patans invaded it, on a sup-
 “ position that it was in too low a condition
 “ to be able to resist the force which they,
 “ at that time, thought was sufficient to
 “ bring against it : they were, however,
 “ obliged to quit the country by a precipi-
 “ tate flight. But it was not long before
 “ the peace of *Debly* was more fatally dis-
 “ turbed ; for the Patan chief retiring to
 “ *Labore*, in a little time assembled a much
 “ more formidable army, and entering
 “ *Debly*, gave up the town to be plundered
 “ three days by his foldiers. In the mean
 “ time he took to himself all that was to
 “ be found in the royal treasury, and re-
 “ quired of the collectors of the public re-
 “ venues, that they should be accountable
 “ to him for all they had received. He

cautious and circumspect. He offered, and they accepted, ten
 lacks of rupees for a free passage ; and, however large this sum
 might appear upon another occasion, it was an object of very
 little consideration compared with the bulk of NADIR's treasure.
 The jewels, money, and valuables, carried out of India by NADIR
 and his army, have been computed to amount to no less than
 from seventy to eighty millions of pounds sterling. T.

“ then

“ then marched home, being supposed to
 “ have taken away more riches, except
 “ jewels, than NADIR SHAH carried out of
 “ the country. He made no revolution,
 “ and, it is said, no alteration in the go-
 “ vernment of *Hindostan*, and yet he as-
 “ sumed a kind of sovereignty over it; but
 “ when he returned to *Labore*, he drew a
 “ line from south to north, assuming to
 “ himself a vast extent of country, to the
 “ west of that line, which was before, at
 “ least nominally, dependent on the empire
 “ of *Hindostan*; there he left his son TIMUR,
 “ as governor of his new dominions, and
 “ gave no further disturbance to *Hindostan*
 “ till the year 1757 *.”

* CAMBRIDGE's *Account of the War in India*, pages 79-82,
 119-122. The expedition of ACHMET ABDALLAH, the Patan
 chief here alluded to, in 1757, has been mentioned in chap. x.
 of the second book, vol. II. T.

CHAPTER IX.

The Company's Direction at SURAT.—Pomp in which the Director formerly appeared.—Military and Marines.—Council.—Bookkeepers and other Officers of the Company.—Their Brokers.—Money-changer.—Contractors.—Incomes of the Company's Servants.—Further Particulars respecting their Trade.—Description of their Wharf in the Jengh-bander.

THE administration of the affairs and trade of the Company is at *Surat*, as in *Bengal*, entrusted to a director; these two places are the only ones where the Company have directors.

Formerly our director here lived in great pomp, on account of the ideas entertained by the Moors and Indians, who are accustomed to calculate the wealth of every one, and to hold them in respect, in proportion as they excel in grandeur and ostentation. For this reason the Company have not only
allowed

allowed their director to appear with magnificence, but have also been at the expence of the various ornaments and services of gold and silver plate, which it was necessary to keep for the purposes of parade, and which would have fallen too heavy upon the director himself. A certain number of horses, and, as I believe, one or two elephants, chariots of ceremony, and palankeens, with trappings of gold and silver, were kept at the charge of the Company, to furnish a splendid appearance whenever the director went out in state.

But this is now all set aside; and the ornaments of gold and silver, the service of silver plate, &c. to the value of thirty thousand rupees, were all carried on board of my ship to *Batavia*, and very little or no appearance of pomp is at present kept up at *Surat*.

The military, of whom there used to be before one hundred men and upwards, are now reduced to one ensign, and fifteen or sixteen privates; and the marine establishment consists in two commanders of the Company's small vessels in the river, and a

boatfwain under the comptroller of equipment *.

This decrease plainly indicates the decay of the trade of the Company, and perhaps also an intention of gradually withdrawing from this place, without giving any offence to the government of the country, in order that they might not oppose the removal of our trade, on account of the advantages which they still derive from it.

Yet it is alleged that this is merely done in order to bring this factory upon another footing, and to place it immediately under the direction of the administration in *Holland*, as at present is the case with respect to *Ceylon* and *Bengal*; to which effect, the orders for supplies, which were before executed from *Batavia*, were henceforward to be fulfilled by a vessel to be sent hither direct from *Holland* for that purpose; and those for the year 1778 were accordingly made up for *Europe*.

* In 1776-1777, the establishment of the Dutch at *Surat*, consisted of thirty persons in the civil service of the Company, one clergyman, two surgeons, four mariners, and twenty-five foldiers; in all sixty-two Europeans. V.

To the director is adjoined, as in all other places, a council, consisting at present, of the director as president, the senior merchant and second, the merchant fiscal, and six junior merchants, who, but without the director, and having the second as president, compose the council of justice.

Besides these there are several bookkeepers and assistants, who perform the writing business; a comptroller of equipment, who has the rank of first lieutenant; a chief surgeon to the hospital; and a *dispensier*, or purveyor, who is, at the same time, book-keeper.

There are likewise two factors in the Company's lodge at *Baroche*, one of whom is a junior merchant, and the other a book-keeper.

The Company have also several natives in their service. Of these, the chief are the two brokers, one of whom is a Persee, and the other a Banian, who have already been between thirty and forty years in that employment.

All sales and purchases relative to the trade of the Company are made by them, and they receive for brokerage one and a

half per cent on the former, and three and a quarter per cent on the latter. They frequently purchase for their own account all the goods which the Company import. They formerly even carried their influence in the direction to such a pitch, that no other native merchant durst ever make an offer for any goods ; but the director SENE, seeing the evil consequences arising from their assumed exclusive privileges, invited himself other merchants to come and treat for the goods, against which the brokers naturally endeavoured to do all they could ; but that gentleman found means to pacify them, and make them know their duty.

Nevertheless he bestows much praise upon them in section 107, of his memorial, where he says, that the Company never had more zealous, or more intelligent servants, nor ever will procure better merchants as brokers, than those who are at present in that employment. I will quote his own words : “ This appears from the
 “ large cargoes which I have annually dis-
 “ posed of through their management, and
 “ from the great profits which I made upon
 “ them ; this appears more evident from
 “ their

“ their integrity, in punctually fulfilling
 “ their engagements entered into by the
 “ yearly contracts which I made with them,
 “ and by which I stipulated, especially with
 “ respect to the purchases to be made for
 “ the Company, the most favourable terms
 “ that could ever be obtained. To these
 “ circumstances, therefore, I refer, as con-
 “ clusive proofs of the necessity there is
 “ duly to appreciate the merits of our
 “ brokers and contractors, and to keep
 “ them attached to our interest. They
 “ likewise afford proofs of the reality of the
 “ amelioration of the trade of the Company
 “ which has thereby taken place, during my
 “ administration.”

It were to be wished that they were still
 held in the same estimation ; but I have
 several times heard complaints of the con-
 trary, imparted to me in confidence ; and
 that they meet with much vexation and dif-
 ficulty, by the machinations of the English,
 and especially of their broker, who, it seems,
 had much influence with the person who
 has at present taken a great part of the di-
 rection upon himself.

In former times, it appears, that the
 brokers

brokers employed by the Company, were both banians : and it seems to have become hereditary in the family of one of them, for the present banian broker is the fifth of his family, who has filled this office, during the space of upwards of one hundred years.

But Mr. SCHREUDER, in his beforementioned memorial, addressed to Mr. PECOCK, is of opinion, that it is better for the interests of the Company that their brokers be of different religions, in order to have them more under controul, and that the less mutual good understanding prevail between them. Yet I never observed otherwise than that they were as confidentially connected together, as if they were not alone of the same religion, but also own brothers.

Besides acting as brokers in the sales and purchases of goods, one part of their office is to attend at the *darbar*, or upon the city-magistrates, when there is any thing to do there in behalf of the Company, either to prefer petitions, present remonstrances, or make proposals, all which is done through them.

The Company's money-changer is also
one

one of their principal native servants. The purchase-money of the goods sold is deposited in his hands, before they are delivered out of the warehouses. He puts the rupees into bags, each containing one thousand, which he seals with his *chiap*, and he is obliged to stand to the number, for which he receives one-sixteenth per cent ; yet the bag must be opened in his presence, or else he is not responsible, if less than the right sum be found in it. These bags, sealed in this manner, pass through several hands, and are currently taken for the value marked upon them, without being opened, or the money counted out, as long as the seal remains uninjured.

The Company have further their furnishers, or contractors, being those persons with whom they contract for the delivery of cotton cloths. They have the cottons manufactured according to patterns given to them, and as soon as they are ready, they are carried into the lodge in the city, where they are examined and compared with the patterns, and such as do not agree, or are faulty, are rejected, and returned to the

the contractors ; this is called to *bazar* the cottons, and it may not be done in any other place than in the lodge.

The director has, besides, two natives in his service called *hircarrahs*, who carry such messages to the nabob, and the city-magistrates, as are of too little importance to trouble the brokers with.

All the European servants of the Company, from the director down to the assistants, enjoy a certain income, arising from two per cent upon the amount of the sales of spices, and of the purchases of silks, cotton cloths, raw silk, and cotton yarn, for Europe, and from five per cent upon the sales and purchases of all other goods, allowed them by the Company, of which a repartition was made by Mr. SCHREUDER, and approved of by the government at *Batavia*, in the year 1746.

Those who are employed in the warehouses, in the purveyor's office, at the wharf, &c. have several other emoluments, which are particularly detailed in the *Regulations issued by the Company, containing the Means of a better subsistence* for their servants,
of

of which I may, perhaps, add copies in an appendix *.

The chief articles of merchandize which the Company dispose of to advantage here, at present, are, spices, Japan copper in bars, and sugar; the other articles, such as tortoiseshell, benzoin, tin, quicksilver, &c. which appear to have produced some profit in former years, are now either not sent at all, or in small quantities, as the greater supplies of them, now brought to *Surat*, by other nations, render the gains upon them both precarious and of little consequence.

Yet the Company have sometimes been obliged to put up with a profit of no more than twenty-five per cent upon some of the first mentioned articles: as for instance; when in one year, a certain favourite being sent as chief to *Surat*, and it being foreseen that his administration would not be of long duration, it was alleged that the Company's

* The regulations intended to have been added by Mr. STAVORINUS in an appendix, were not published with his voyages, but copies of them have been procured from Holland, and translations of them are added at the end of this volume, in an appendix, which, it is presumed, will be found useful to explain much of the domestic economy of the Dutch East-India Company. T.

warehouses at *Batavia* were so glutted with sugar, that it was necessary to find some means of disposing of the large quantities on hand; it was therefore determined that all should be shipped to *Surat*, with orders to put off the whole, were even no more obtainable than an advance of twenty-five per cent on the invoice-value; these instructions were faithfully attended to; and after an administration of two-and-twenty months, the favourite returned well pleased to *Batavia*, plentifully loaded with rupees.

In the rainy season, says Mr. SCHREUDER, trade is at a stand, as the country-roads are then impracticable; but most of the cotton cloths are woven during that season. The best time for trade is shortly afterwards, in the latter end of September, or the beginning of October, as most of the supplies of the preceding season are then exhausted, and the merchants can then send their goods up the country, and sell them to advantage.

Excepting what relates to the purchased cottons, all the Company's effects and concerns are at present upon their wharf, which is a piece of ground lying in the, south-western suburb, called *Jenghi-bander*, by the riverside.

riverside. It was ceded to the Company, partly as a purchase, and partly as a donation, in the time of the embassy of Mr. KETELAAR, in the year 1712; but the abovementioned use was not made of it, till under the direction of Mr. SENF, who contrived to convey thither all that was necessary for that purpose, and who obliged the Company's servants to reside upon it. I compute it to be about seven or eight acres in extent; it is covered with buildings and warehouses, except for about the length of fifty or sixty roods (two hundred, or two hundred and forty yards), along the river, where a stone wall has been erected from the riverside, to the height of four feet above the level ground, which has two gates, before each of which a pierhead juts out into the river, where the goods are discharged and shipped, and the vessels lie always afloat.

The building and repairing of this wall have already cost the Company a large sum of money, as well in what was paid to the Moorish government, in order to obtain permission to erect it, as in the expences of the construction itself. Mr. DE ROTH, who

seemed

seemed to be very much in earnest to begin this work, charged in account, it is said, no less a sum than eighty thousand rupees, solely for the consideration-money, given for leave to build the wall; and when, two or three years ago, part of the wooden piles at the northeast side required to be renewed, a sum of forty thousand rupees was charged for effecting it; each pile being provided, as I was told, with eighty pounds weight of iron-work.

At the west end of the wall stands the house of the director, as also that of the second; on the other side, between these, is a large open space, on which the ensignstaff is planted; and about forty yards from the wall there are four dwelling-houses, of an uniform height, being of one story, which were erected under the last direction, with the consent of the English and Moors: behind them are some smaller buildings. The bookkeepers and inferior servants occupy part of the warehouses, which are very slight, being only run up of bamboos and woodwork.

The wharf is shut every night by two gates, at one of which there is a guard of military

military, being just beyond the hospital, over which the chief surgeon has his apartments.

I have now related all what I found worthy of observation during the short stay that I made at *Surat*, which did not permit me to examine into the manners and customs of the natives with more accuracy, though I had the greatest desire to do it.

I shall now go back to my journal, from the time of my arrival at *Surat*.

CHAPTER X.

Passage up the River of SURAT.—The Company's Garden ZORGVRY.—The Bar.—The Tary-dyke.—Tomb of a Faquir.—View of the City, &c.—Excursion to ATTUA—To a Garden of the Nabob.

1) *—Visit to a Faquir, who had vowed a Silence of twelve Years.—The training of the English Sepoys.*

—Visit to, and Account of, a Pagoda, and some

1) *Faquirs.—The Company's Brokers pay a Visit to the Author.—He goes to see a celebrated Faquir,*

1) *called BABBA SAHEB.—Account of his House,*

1) *Conversation, &c.—Visit to another Pagoda, and Account of some religious Ceremonies of the Gentoos.*

—Visit to the Garden of BEGUM SAHEB.—Cele-

1) *bration of the new Year by the Moors.—Procession of the Nabob to the Mosque.—Excursion to, and*

Account of, OLD SURAT, and of a Mosque there.—

Excursion to BRIAUW.—To POELE PARRE.—

Description of a Species of Hemp.—Further Ac-

1) *count of some religious Ceremonies of the Gentoos.—Preparations for Departure.*

I HAVE before mentioned that both the ships, *Ouwerkerk* and *Overhoud*, cast anchor in the road of *Surat*, on the 10th of November, 1775.

The next day, at noon, I left the ship, and came in about half an hour to *Attua*, or rather to the Company's garden there, called *Zorgury* (*free from care*), where the director, BOSMAN, then was.

I found on the bar, in the *Passageul*, nine feet water, it having risen, as I guessed, six feet. The mouth of the river is half a league broad, by my computation, from *Sualy* to the N.W. to *Domis* to the S.E.

A little below *Sualy*, on the same side, is the *Tary-dyke*, so called from its being frequented by some of the common people, who retail their *tary*, or *furi*, to the passers by: I have before mentioned this liquor. The country here looks very barren; but when you get higher up, it assumes a better and more fertile appearance. At intervals, large fields of *nilly*, which the Moors call *juary*, are seen, divided from each other by intervening pasture-grounds.

A little below the village of *Omrah*, on the right hand, in going up the river, we passed the tomb of a faquir, which was attended by two of those devotees: it stands in a little grove, out of which several long

bamboo poles rise, with little white flags, with red spots upon them.

On approaching nearer to the point of *Omrah*, we got sight of the city of *Surat*, the Dutch and English wharfs, the Company's garden, and, in particular, the Moorish castle, all which together make a lively and variegated appearance, from the numerous and different flags that are displayed upon them.

The whole lies on the south bank of the river, which is here about one hundred and sixty, or two hundred yards in breadth. On the opposite bank are extensive plains, the view over which is bounded by woods.

After I had informed Mr. BOSMAN of my arrival, and had stayed a short time with him, I left him, and went, by the same boat which brought me, to the Dutch wharf. I took up my quarters in a house which stood just without the wharf, and which had been hired for me at the rate of twenty-five rupees per month: this mansion was more like a stable than a house; yet I was told, what I afterwards found to be the fact, that it was one of the best that could be procured here.

I took

I took a walk, early in the morning, on the next day, to *Attua*, in order to speak with Mr. BOSMAN on various matters concerning my ship, &c. The road thither is very pleasant and shady. On the right hand there were people employed by the orders of the English chief, to dig up the foundations of a strong wall, that had surrounded a piece of ground situated by the side of the river, within which a kind of town had been built by a native merchant, named FAKKOOR-DEER, who had nineteen ships of his own at sea, and of whom it was related, that he never could bring the number to twenty, for the twentieth was no sooner equipped, than he received advice of the loss of one of the others. The wealth of this man was so immense, that he intended to have covered this wall with plates of copper; and he had actually begun to do so, when the nabob, having inticed him into the city with professions of friendship and regard, and after having in vain attempted to poison him, as he always secretly carried an antidote with him, inclosed in a ring, put him at last to death by violent means, in his garden of *Mahmoudi Bagh*.

In the afternoon I went on an excursion out of the city, through the *Briauw*-gate, to a garden of the nabob, which, from that gate, is called the *Briauw*-garden. The building, which is erected in this garden, consists of a large *divan*, or saloon, open before and behind, and having a kind of pavillion on each side, with small recesses, or retiring rooms. Before the building, an oblong square piece of ground, one hundred and sixty, or one hundred and eighty yards in length, is sunk lower than the ground surrounding it, the edges of which are supported from falling down by a brick wall of two feet in height: this plot of ground is divided into beds, in which all sorts of flowers are sown, or planted. The rest of the garden is planted with various fruit-trees, and among them many vines; the watering of the garden is effected by means of brick channels, which convey the water wherever it is wanted; this water is got out of brick cisterns, brought up in leathern bags by oxen, and poured out into large stone reservoirs.

All the other gardens of the nabob, which I went to see, at different times, are laid out nearly in the same manner.

On the 15th of November, I rode out with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, the fiscal of this direction, who had the goodness to accompany me to the places where there was any thing remarkable, to see a faquir,* who had imposed a silence of twelve years, as a penance, upon himself; ten years had already elapsed since he had not spoken: we found him in a large hut, which had been made for him upon his coming hither a few months before, for these penitentiary devotees seldom remain long in the same place: he was sitting by a little fire, although it was very hot weather on that day.

He appeared to me to be about thirty years of age, was well made, and more inclined to corpulency than spareness: he was covered with a white dust, which was made of ashes of burnt cowdung, and is said to be very cooling; his hair and beard were, in particular, filled with this dust, which made a most disgusting appearance: his food consisted of confectionary, or sweatmeats, and his drink of milk, which the bystanders said, for there were several people who visited and attended him in this hut, was brought to him every day out of heaven; they like-

wife informed me that the place of his birth was somewhere in or near *Bengal*: he was able, as I was told, to convey his meaning very plainly by signs. Opposite to where he sat, was the image of the idol to whom he paid his devotions, placed in a semicircular niche: it was carved of one piece of a black shining stone, and represented a man in armour, with four arms: it was about three feet in height.

The Gentoos paid great respect to this faquir, on account of the singularity of his penance.

When I was at the same place, about a fortnight afterwards, he was gone, and no one knew whither; his hut was demolished, and there remained no vestige of his temporary abode on that spot, but the niche in which the image of his idol had been placed.

On the 16th of the same month, proclamation was made throughout the city, by order of the nabob, that the day of the ensuing new moon would equally be the first day of the new year: this proclamation was made amidst the beating of drums, and the sounding of a sort of trumpets, or clarions.

The day after, I went, early in the morning,

ing, to see the English sepoy's perform their exercise ; they had been raised a short time before to serve in the war against the Marattas : this was done upon the *Meidan*. They formed a body of about two hundred. Their subaltern officers were of their own nation : they all wore a short scarlet coat, laced with gold ; pantaloons, and half boots, in the Moorish fashion ; and a white turban wrapped round the head. Their commanding officers were Englishmen.

They fired tolerably well ; but the evolutions, and the closing of the ranks and files, were but indifferently performed. I likewise observed that most of them turned their heads aside when they fired.

In the afternoon, I went on an excursion, out of the *Mocha*-gate, on the road to *Omrah*, to a Gentoo pagoda, which was at the distance of about half a mile from the river. It was very small, being scarcely ten feet square, covered at top with a cupola. In the middle of the floor was a round hole, in which there lay a rough unhewn stone, strewed with flowers. In a niche in the wall, lay a large red brick, with some figures delineated upon it ; but they were so worn

out

out by length of time, that little of them could be discerned. In a corner, on the side of the entrance, there was a representation of some animal lying down, made, as it were, of one brick, but in such a clumsy manner, that it was impossible to say what particular animal it was intended for. Upon the wall, opposite to the entrance, were painted the figures of the sun and moon.

Not far from the pagoda was the faquir's tomb, which I mentioned before. The grave was covered by a stone, about two feet above the ground. About twenty-five paces off, was the abode of two others faquirs, in a little hut, under some trees, and encircled by a paling of bamboo: they were keepers of the tomb, to which service they had devoted themselves; and when these die, they are buried as the others, and other faquirs again perform the same service of guarding their graves.

On the 18th, I received a visit from the brokers of the Company, of whom I have before made some mention. One of them, the chief of the *Persees*, MANTCHERGI by name, was formerly an immensely rich man, and one of the most capital merchants of

Surat,

Surat, but, by many misfortunes, to which the English did not contribute a little, he has lost much of his wealth; the other, called GOVENRAM, is a Banian, who is equally esteemed a man of large property, and who could speak a good deal of Dutch, so as almost to carry on a conversation without interruption. According to the custom of the country, I had betel presented to them when they were about to depart, and rose-water poured over their hands, with which they likewise moistened their faces.

The next day, early in the morning, I paid a visit, in my palankeen, to the Banian hospital for sick and maimed animals, of which I have before given an account.

In the afternoon, I rode with Mr. SLUIKENS to *Poele Parra*, not far from which place a Gentoo saint, or faquir, resided, who was held in the greatest veneration by them, and was addressed by the title of BABBA SAHEB, or *Lord and Father*: the Europeans called him by the same name.

This faquir was so highly venerated by all who are of the heathen, or Gentoo, religion, that even the Marattas at *Poonah*, when they were at *Poele Parra*, in the year before, and had

had burnt to the ground and destroyed the house and garden of the English broker, not only abstained from doing the least damage to the mansion of the holy man, but their chiefs went in person to pay their respects to him; and, at his entreaties, ceased from ravaging that neighbourhood any more.

He resided in a pretty large house, of a square form, built of stone, with balconies all around it. Within it there was an open square space, in the middle of which stood a little pagoda, in which there was nothing to be seen but some frightful idols: in one of the upper balconies was the image, being the representation of a woman, with four arms, to whom the faquir and his attendants paid their religious adorations, and who had strewed it plentifully with flowers.

We found this reputed saint in another gallery, whence there was a beautiful prospect of the river and its eastern shore. He was sitting on a large round mattress. His whole body, face, and head, were covered with the same sort of ashes of which I have before made mention, and of which he gave some to me, to satisfy my curiosity.

He received us in a very friendly manner;
but

but he did not rise from his seat. He had several young brahmins round him, as well to attend upon him, as to listen to the lessons which he gave them concerning their religion. The conversation was carried on by means of our servants, who were, however, but very wretched interpreters. I wanted much, by their means, to have entered into some discourse with him, in order to obtain a better insight into his religion; but Mr. SLUISKENS desired me not to do so, as there were too many bystanders of his people, in whose presence he would not like to express his sentiments with freedom and precision; but he said, that he had more than once been in private with him, and had then conversed with him, without disguise, respecting his religion, undisfigured by the superstitious notions of the common people.

I went afterwards three several times to see him, in the hope that I might meet with him alone, and be equally fortunate with Mr. SLUISKENS in hearing his real ideas on that subject; but it was in vain, for he had always some of his people with him, whom he did not appear desirous of sending away.

One time that I was with him, in company

pany with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, I caused the question to be put to him, how ~~and~~ he was? to which he at first answered: "One day and one night;" but afterwards he said, "that after his birth, he had first been an infant; that when he grew older, he got a beard, and encreased in strength, as he encreased in age; and that he was now so far advanced in years, that his teeth began to be loose; but that, as near as he could remember, his period of life had hitherto been full seventy years."

He will, doubtless, have expressed his meaning, in answer to the simple question proposed to him, in a better manner than is here put down; but the broken language of our interpreters, rendered the translation of his words neither very clear, nor very interesting.

This may serve in confirmation of what I have before remarked, on speaking of the religions of the east, namely, that we shall not, in Europe, in all probability, ever obtain a true notion of the religion of the Gentoos, which is enveloped in so many superstitious mysteries, on account of the ignorance in their language, of those who
may

may otherwise be able and inclined to make the enquiries necessary for that purpose.

Our interpreter told us further, “ that he compared Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN and me to good and spirited horses, who were every day duly provided with proper food, and were taken care of by careful grooms, who did their best to keep up and improve the strength and beauty of their horses; and himself to a little good-for-nothing poney, lame, and of little use, but which was equally valuable in the eyes of the owner, with either of the others.”

While we were with him, a Gentoo woman came to let him know that she had performed the penance which he had imposed upon her; whereupon he seemed to give her his blessing, and a little cut arecanut, with which she departed highly satisfied.

He wanted very much, that we should stay with him that night, saying, that he would provide us with victuals, drink, and beds; but as we were both obliged to return to the city, we politely declined his hospitable offer.

On the 20th of November, I rode, with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, to what is called
the

the *Mango-grove*, being on the road to *Oon-rab*, near which there was a pagoda, where the brahmins were to perform some of the ceremonies of their religion on that day.

We found sixteen or eighteen of these Indian priests, who are distinguishable by little cords, to which a bead is attached in the middle, and which hang down their body over their left shoulder. One, who seemed to be the principal among them, sat before a small octagon hole, which appeared, by the eye, to be about a foot and a half in depth, and wherein there lay one of their holy stones, which they ornamented with flowers, heaped up upon it, like a pyramid, during a continued singing, and clapping of hands, in a regular cadence: the chief sang first, and the others answered him in chorus: when the pyramid of flowers was completed, a large nosegay was placed at the top: at soon as this was done, they redoubled their singing and clapping, and appeared to congratulate each other on the completion of their work. Then one of the brahmins stood up, and stepped to the place where the principal brahmin sat, who wetted his forehead with a reddish liquid, and afterwards placed

placed in his hands the shell containing that liquid, when he went round to the others, and wetted their foreheads in the same manner.

On the 21st; in the afternoon, I went to see the garden which had been laid out by BEGUM SAHEB, sister to the celebrated AURENGZEBE. I walked over it with THEVENOT's travels in my hand, and found every thing perfectly agreeing with his account, making allowance for the circumstance that that traveller saw it in its greatest splendour, and I, more than a century afterwards, in a deplorable state of decay.

On the 23d, in the afternoon, I went to see the *Bora*-garden, which also lies in the outer town, between the *Nassary* and *Debly* gates; but I did not observe any thing particularly remarkable about it.

On the 24th, in the evening, five guns were fired from the Moorish castle, which is customary, whenever their new moon, with which their months begin, makes her first appearance; but that which now took place, was of the more consideration, as the commencement of their new year was likewise to be taken from it, and the next day

was to be the first of the year 1190 of the *Hegira*, or of the flight of MAHOMED from *Mecca* to *Medina*.

I went, on the ensuing morning, with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN to the Meidan, where we took our stand upon a piece of higher ground, that we might have a view of the procession in which the nabob was to ride in *staté*, to one of the *massieds* or mosques, in order to put up his prayers, in public, on the occasion of the new year, according to annual custom.

The procession began to move from the court, or *durbar*, about half past seven o'clock. First rode the *catoual*, or sheriff, who is the officer appointed to watch over the tranquillity of the city, accompanied by his officers and people, and followed by one sounding a large clarion. Next came a large elephant, marching with great gravity, with a large square turret upon his back, surrounded with lattice-work, in which there were some people, one of whom carried the standard of MAHOMED in his hand: this was of a triangular shape, and made of green silk, embroidered with flowers of gold. Behind came ten or twelve similar, but smaller, standards,

which

which were carried by men on foot. Then followed another large, and a smaller elephant, carrying, in a kind of large square troughs, upon their backs, the offerings which the nabob was to distribute to the poor. Next came two camels, with a kettledrum. Then several Moors, both on foot and on horseback, with drums, flutes, French horns, and other sonorous instruments of music. Immediately after them followed the nabob, sitting upon an elephant of an enormous size, under a pavillion of scarlet cloth, with two circular canopies, which were supported by small pilasters; behind him stood a servant, who drove away the flies from him, with a fan, or brush, of cow-hair *: the elephant

* The cowhair of which these brushes are made, is one of the staple commodities of *Thibet*, and is produced by a species of cattle different from what is found in any other country. This species is of a larger size than the common *Thibet* breed, has short horns, and no hump on the back. The skin is covered with whitish hair of a silky appearance; but the chief singularity of the breed is in the tail, which spreads out, broad and long, with flowing hairs, like that of a beautiful mare, but much finer, and far more glossy. These tails sell very high, and are used, mounted on silver handles, for *chowras*, or brushes, to chase away the flies; and no man of consequence in India, goes out, or sits in form at home, without one or two *chowrawbadars*, or brushers, attending him, with such instruments in their hands. *T.*

was richly caparisoned, having a covering of scarlet cloth, hanging half way down to the ground, richly laced and embroidered with gold, and with a long gold fringe hanging down from the edges ; its ears were painted with a variety of figures, and the whole made a most splendid appearance. A green silk flag was carried before the nabob, having, as it appeared to me, a golden dagger in the center of it. The procession was closed by a company of Patan foldiers, or sepoy.

When, at about half past nine o'clock, the train returned again past the castle, a salute of fifteen guns was fired from it, which was answered by the same number of discharges from five pieces of artillery, placed expressly for that purpose upon the Meidan.

In the afternoon, I went up the river in a boat, with the comptroller of equipment, BOELE, and Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, to the town of *Old Surat*, which lies about half a Dutch mile higher up, on the opposite side of the river.

This is still a town of a pretty large size, built along the side of the river ; part of the walls and ditches, which formerly surrounded it on the landside, are still in existence ; but it has much run to decay within the walls.

Passing

Passing by a *massied*, or mosque, we had the curiosity to step into it, in order to take a view of the inside, which we were allowed to do, upon pulling off our shoes on entering it. I did not see any thing in this mosque more particularly worthy of remark, than in that I had before seen at *Surat*: to the west, there was a little closet made in the wall, in which they said that the Koran lay; it served likewise, at the same time, for the *KEBLA*, or place towards which those that pray in the mosque must turn their faces, because *Mecca* lay in that direction from that place: by the side of it was a semicircular place in the wall, about six feet high, in which the officiating *imam* places himself when he addresses a discourse to the people. At the end of the *massied* we found, standing in a corner, a large, oblong, square stone, upon which was inscribed, in Arabic characters, the customary ejaculation of mahomedanism: "There is but one God, and MAHOMED is his prophet." It had been engraven on the stone, in the year 150 of the *Hegira*; and the stone itself had been brought several centuries ago from *Jedda* to where it now is, at least, according to the relation of two of

their religious officiants, who pointed it out to us.

I made a tour, on the 26th, in the afternoon, to *Briauw*, a village on the other side of the river, through which you pass on going to *Baroche*, *Amedabad*, and other places inland. On passing the *Tapi* here, it is very shallow, having scarcely three feet water, so that most of the natives pass it on foot; but carriages are ferried over in a boat. The village itself has nothing remarkable in it.

On the 1st of December, I rode the same way, but higher up: on the riverside, a little below *Poele Parra*, there is a large and broad flight of stone steps, for the purpose of going down to bathe in the river.

Here I saw the preparation of a sort of hemp, which bears much resemblance to flax. The plant that produces it is called *janne* by the natives; it shoots forth a thin stalk, to the height of a man, and about the thickness of a little finger; it has no leaves, except a few, of a grass-green colour, at the top, from between which grows a little yellow flower. After being cut, it is tied in bundles, and laid in the river, with clay or earth upon it, to keep it under water, where it is suffered to

rot,

rot, and where it continues till the stalks separate into filaments. It is then hung up, dried, and afterwards beaten and heckelled. The threads, though somewhat coarse, are long and strong; and, although the people here think it cannot be made any other use of, than to be spun into sail-yarn, I am confident that good and substantial cordage might be made from it, and that they could, in consequence, do without European cordage, which is very dear here, and renders the outfit of vessels very expensive; for the *coir* cannot be employed in all purposes of naval equipment. When the same plant is not laid in water, but only dried, very good matches are made of it.

On other days I went to see various other curiosities in and near *Surat*; the royal mint, the caravanseras, the burying-places of the banian or gentoo saints, &c.

About the time when the Company's cotton cloths were to be shipped, the English began to renew their former demands, namely, that the bales should be chiapped by an officer appointed by them, as well as by the one appointed for that purpose by the nabob,

being the same innovation which they had attempted to introduce the preceding year, threatening that they would not otherwise suffer one bale to go from the shore; but our people strenuously opposed this unjust demand, and declared that, if it were persisted in, the Company's ships should go away empty, for they would never agree to submit to it; protesting, at the same time, that all the damage and loss accruing therefrom, should remain for the responsibility of the English. Upon this, they desisted from their demand, and the bales were, according to ancient custom, chiapped by the officers of the nabob alone.

The 18th of December was a great holiday, or festival, for the banians, and gentoos, being the last Monday of the moon, which had fallen in on the 24th of November.

Their brahmins determine at the time of each new moon, how many, and what holidays, or festivals, shall be observed during that lunation, and which days they shall count lucky, and which unlucky.

Their religious ceremonies, on this occasion, consisted chiefly in visiting a pagoda, situated

near

near the village of *Oedanam* ; and, in order to see them, I went thither, in the afternoon, in my palankeen.

The road swarmed with banians and gentoos, who were going to, or returning from, the pagoda ; they were almost all men ; the women, as I was told, had gone thither early in the morning. When I came near the place, the croud was so great, that I had no little trouble to get through it, although I had taken eight sepoy with me, on purpose to clear the way.

The environs of the village were filled with faquirs and beggars, soliciting for alms ; there were also a number of little tents, or booths, pitched in the neighbourhood, where flowers, fruits, &c. were sold.

The pagoda, towards which the greatest croud pressed, stood a little on one side, upon an eminence. It was but small ; in the center of the floor, was a little octagonal pit, half full of water, in the middle of which lay a rough, unhewn stone, which was the object of their adoration. The pressure of the people who cast flowers upon the stone was so great, that I could scarcely see what was
going

going forward, though the brahmins took great pains to make sufficient room for me.

Two images, which appeared to me to be made of clay, and one of which was the representation of a human body, with the head of a swine, stood against the wall. Every one who came here, made their *salammas*, in token of respect, both to these images, and to the stone which lay in the hole, giving money, according to their respective abilities, to the brahmins, who, in return, wetted their hands, or faces, with the water in which the stone lay; whilst there were but a few who had the good fortune to be thus wetted by a brahmin, after he had stroked his moistened hand over the abovementioned images of clay. They then muttered their prayers, and making some more *salammas* to the objects of their devotion, they departed highly pleased, and made place for others.

I staid about half an hour to see this scene going on; but I was then obliged to return again into the open air, because of the stifling closeness of the place, occasioned by the respiration of the croud within the little temple, and the smoke of the lamps, which it was
 necessary

neccessary to burn in it; for no other light could come to it from without, than through the entrance, which was now nearly choaked up, by the great multitude of people going in and out.

The remainder of the time during which I staid at *Surat*, was devoted to the settling of my own concerns, to the receiving a return-cargo for *Batavia*, on board of my ship, and to parting entertainments, which several of the members of this direction were pleased to give on my account, so that I had no further opportunity of going to see any thing more of importance.

CHAPTER XI.

Departure from SURAT.—The Zodiacal Light.—View of Cape COMORIN.—Passage of the Line.—An Eclipse of the Moon.—View of the Island ENGANO.—Account of it, and of its Inhabitants.—View of the Island SUMATRA—KRAKETAU, &c.—Intelligence of the Death of the Governor General, VAN DER PARRA.—Anchorage at BATAVIA.—Remarks on the Signs of Land observed at a great Distance from the Shore.—The OUWERKERK again appointed to go to SURAT.—Repaired at the Island ONRUST.—Loaded and ready for sailing.

ON the 30th of September, having settled all my concerns at *Surat*, I went down to the road, and found every thing on board of my ship, *Ouwerkerk*, in readiness for sailing, save some bales of cotton cloth, which were to make part of the cargo, and had not yet come down, but which came on board early the next morning.

In the afternoon, the fiscal, VAN DER SLEYDEN, with the deputies from the council of justice, came on board, to muster my crew,

crew, which was found to amount to one hundred and seventy-two souls, Europeans, Moors, Bouginese, and passengers. In the night, the director of *Surat*, Mr. BOSMAN, on board of the Company's schooner, *the Young Peter*, dropped anchor close to us. I received from him the Company's papers, and my final dispatches, and directly, when the tide of flood had subsided, I weighed anchor, and got under sail; but finding that the ship *Overboud* did not follow me, I cast anchor again at half past three o'clock, P.M. abreast of the point of *Nassary*, and just in sight of the road.

On the following morning, at four o'clock, we again got under sail, with the tide of ebb, and we succeeded in getting abreast of Cape *St. John* the same evening, and thus out of the banks; whence we steered our course, according to the Company's sailing-orders, s.w. in order to keep clear of the land, and of the Maratta fleet, which is generally on or near the coast. We saw, on that evening, at sunset, a fleet of vessels, at least fifty in number, amongst which there were three large grabs, lying at anchor, south of us; and being uncertain whether this was the Ma-
ratta

ratta fleet or not, we got all ready for an engagement ; we passed, at seven o'clock, P.M. half a league to the westward of them, without their shewing any signs of an intention of attacking us, whence we concluded that it was an English convoy, coming from *Bombay*.

On the 6th of January, 1776, being, by estimation, thirty leagues from the land, we changed our course to s.s.e. and, on the 8th, to s.e. ; but being on the next day, at sunrise, within sight of the land, that lies a little to the southward of the Portuguese capital, *Goa*, we again steered in a southerly direction, so that, at sunset, we could distinguish very little of the land.

On the 9th of January, and for several following days, we saw every evening, from seven to eight o'clock, the zodiacal light in the west, in the same manner as we had before seen it, in the month of October, in the east ; but it was then more bright, and nearer approaching to twilight, also more visible, and terminating in a point : the time when I saw this appearance at the strongest, was on the 21st of January, at half past seven o'clock in the evening, in north
latitude

latitude $8^{\circ} 30'$, abreast of *Coylang*, on the coast of *Malabar*, three leagues off: it then appeared as light and clear as the breaking of the day, about a quarter of an hour before sunrise; its base stood upon a dark cloud, such as the seamen call a fog-bank, which rose about three degrees above the horizon; the breadth of the light was, at the bottom, nearly 10° , and it was visible to the height of 40° , where it terminated in a pyramidal form. It was still visible at nine o'clock, but not half so bright as before; it darkened the lustre of most of the stars that were within its range; but I never saw the zodiacal light, without a cloud, or fog-bank, upon which its basis rested.

We continued to sail along, keeping just out of sight of the land, without meeting with any thing remarkable, till the 20th of January, when we again got sight of the land; it was near *Cali Coylang*; whereupon the ship *Overboud* parted from us the next day, and pursued her voyage for *Punto Gallo*, in *Ceylon*. In the evening, we saw the flag of *Coylang*, and, on the next day, at sunset, the English fort of *Ansjengo*, and the high land of *Cape Comorin*, the southernmost point
of

of India within the *Ganges*, whence we steered for the offing, in order to pursue our voyage for *Batavia*; yet we were not able to double the Cape till the 25th, by reason of the calms, and a contrary current, which we met with; on that day, however, we got into the current of the strong northeast winds which sweep down along the high mountains of the *Ghauts*, and which make the bad monsoon on the coast of *Coromandel*.

On the 26th of January, we thought that we had a glimpse of the island *Ceylon*, bearing N.E. by N.

We had now a settled N.E. and E.N.E. wind, which carried us, on the 2d of February, at noon, under the line, in the longitude, by estimation, of 99° east of *Teneriffe*. On the same day the wind veered through the north to west, but with light airs.

On the evening of the 4th ensuing, we saw a total eclipse of the moon: we could not observe the commencement of it, as the moon rose during the eclipse: the entire obscuration was at fifty-three minutes past six o'clock; the time when the planet began to recover its light, thirty-nine minutes past eight; and the termination of the eclipse, at
forty-

forty-four minutes past nine, so that the duration of the total obscuration was one hour and five minutes.

We had continual calms, or variable winds, which, from the middle of February to the 12th of March, blew mostly from the southeast: and as, from what is generally the case, we had to expect westerly winds in this part of the navigation, our voyage was greatly retarded, so that we did not come in sight of the island *Engano* * till the 18th of March.

* The island of *Engano*, although frequently seen and mentioned by navigators, as most vessels that pass the straits of *Sunda*, during the westerly monsoon, run in sight of it, seems not to have been visited by any Europeans, but once, of which an account is given in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1778; the rocks and breakers, with which it is surrounded, having always discouraged the attempt. The notice taken of it by Mr. STAVORINUS, vol. I. page 48, except the short mention of its inhabitants, is merely what a passing seaman might collect from its appearance. In the first voyage of the Dutch to the East-Indies, performed in 1596, coming in sight of "the island of *Pugniatan*, which the Portuguese have named *Engano*, they saw six or seven canoes under the land: a boat was manned for the purpose of speaking to them; but on seeing the Europeans advance, the Indians went back, and drew their canoes upon the beach: these canoes were pretty long, but scarcely one foot in breadth, and had two outriggers; the people that were in them made signs for the Dutch to come on shore, which they did not do, not being sufficiently

March. Four days before we had seen a sail under Dutch colours.

We

“ sufficiently armed : these islanders were about twenty-three
 “ in number, and well armed with bows and arrows; they
 “ were tall and well made, and of a yellowish hue, like the
 “ Brasilians; they wore very long hair, perfectly straight,
 “ hanging down over their shoulders; they were entirely
 “ naked, and had not the least covering on any part of the
 “ body.” From that time, till the abovementioned voyage
 made to it from *Bencoolen*, for the purpose of exploring it, we
 do not know that any person either touched at, or has described
 it. The relation of this attempt not being accessible to all,
 we add an abstract of it.—“ With great difficulty and danger
 “ we beat up the whole west side of it, without finding any
 “ place where we could attempt to land; and we lost two
 “ anchors, and had very nearly suffered shipwreck, before we
 “ found a secure place into which we could run the vessel. At
 “ last, however, we discovered a spacious harbour at the south-
 “ east end of the island, and I immediately went into it in the
 “ boat, and ordered the vessel to follow me as soon as possible,
 “ for it was then a dead calm. We rowed directly into this
 “ bay; and as soon as we had got round the points of an
 “ island which lay off the harbour, we discovered all the beach
 “ covered with naked savages, armed with lances and clubs;
 “ and twelve canoes full of them, who, till we had passed
 “ them, had lain concealed, rushed out upon me, making a
 “ horrid noise. As I had only one European, and four black
 “ soldiers, besides the four lascars that rowed the boat, I
 “ thought it best to return, if possible, under the guns of the
 “ vessel, before I ventured to speak with them. The canoes,
 “ after having pursued us for a mile, stopped a little to con-
 “ sult together, which gave us an opportunity to escape, as
 “ they did not care to follow us out to sea. The same after-
 “ noon,

We found here that we were fifty-eight
and a half leagues more to the westward,
than

“ noon, the vessel came to an anchor in the bay, and we were
“ presently visited by fifty or sixty canoes, full of people;
“ They paddled round the vessel, and called to us in a language
“ which nobody on board understood, though I had people
“ with me who understood the languages spoken on all the other
“ islands. They looked at every thing about the vessel very
“ attentively, but more for the sake of pilfering, than from
“ curiosity; for they watched an opportunity, and unshipped
“ the rudder of the boat, and paddled away with it. I fired
“ a musket over their heads, the noise of which frightened
“ them so, that all of them leaped into the sea, but soon re-
“ covered themselves, and paddled off. I went on shore the
“ the day after; I saw a few houses near the beach, and went
“ towards them; but the natives flocked down, to the number
“ of sixty or seventy men, well armed with lances, &c. and put
“ themselves in our way; yet, when we approached them,
“ they retreated slowly, making a few threatening gestures.
“ I then ordered my companions to halt, and went alone
“ towards them; they permitted me to come amongst them,
“ and I gave them some knives, pieces of cloth, and look-
“ ing-glasses, with which they seemed well pleased, and al-
“ lowed me to take their lances, &c. and give them to my
“ servant, whom I had called to take them. Finding them
“ behave civilly, I made signs that I wanted to go to their
“ houses and eat with them; they immediately sent people,
“ who brought me cocoa-nuts, but did not seem to approve
“ of my going to their houses; however, I determined to
“ venture, and seeing a path leading towards them, I went
“ forward, attended by about twenty of the natives, who,
“ as soon as we had got behind some trees, which prevented
“ my people from seeing us, began to lay violent hands on

than by our reckoning, since our observation
of, and departure from, *Cape Comorin*, on
the

“ my clothes, and endeavour to pull them off; but having
“ a small hanger, I drew it, and making a stroke at one of
“ them, retreated as fast as possible to the beach. Soon after
“ we heard the sound of a conchshell, and a party of about
“ two hundred, assembled at about a mile distance. It was
“ now near sunset, and we were near a mile from our boat,
“ I therefore returned on board, but first went to the houses
“ which the natives had abandoned, and found them strip-
“ ped of every thing. I intended to have attempted an-
“ other day, to have penetrated into the country, and had
“ prepared my people for it: but the inconsiderate re-
“ sentment of an officer, rendered my scheme abortive. He
“ had been in the boat to some of the natives, who had
“ waded out on a reef of rocks, and called to us; they had
“ brought some cocoanuts, for which he gave them pieces of
“ cloth: one of them, seeing his hanger lying beside him in
“ the boat, snatched it and ran away; upon which he fired
“ upon them, and pursued them to some of their houses,
“ which, finding empty, he burnt. This set the whole
“ country in alarm; conchshells were sounded all over the
“ bay, and in the morning we saw great multitudes of peo-
“ ple assembled in different places, making threatening ges-
“ tures: so that, finding it would be unsafe to venture among
“ them again, as, for want of understanding their language,
“ we could not come to any explanation with them, I or-
“ dered the anchor to be weighed, and sailed out of the bay,
“ bringing away two of the natives with me. They are a
“ tall wellmade people; the men, in general, about five feet
“ eight or ten inches high; the women shorter, and more
“ clumsy. They are of a red colour, and have straight black
“ hair.

the 24th of January; this was probably occasioned by the currents, which we had frequently observed setting to the westward.

On the 21st, in the forenoon, we came in sight of the land of *Sumatra*, and the hill of

“ hair, which the men cut short, but the women let grow
 “ long, and roll up in a circle on the top of their heads.
 “ The men go entirely naked, and the women wear nothing
 “ more than a very narrow slip of plaintain-leaf. The men
 “ always go armed with six or eight lances, made of the wood
 “ of the cabbage-tree, which is extremely hard; they are about
 “ six feet long, and topped with the large bones of fish, sharp-
 “ ened and barbed, or with a piece of bamboo, hardened in
 “ the fire, very sharp pointed, and its concave part armed
 “ with the jawbones and teeth of fish. They have no iron,
 “ or other metal, that I could see, yet they build very neat
 “ canoes; they are formed of two thin boards sewed to-
 “ gether, and the seam filled with a resinous substance. They
 “ are about ten feet long, and about a foot broad, and have
 “ an outrigger on each side. They split trees into boards
 “ with stone wedges. Their houses are circular, supported
 “ on ten or twelve ironwood sticks, about six feet long; they
 “ are neatly floored with plank, and the roof rises imme-
 “ diately from the floor in a conical form, so as to resem-
 “ ble a straw beehive; their diameter is not above eight
 “ feet. These people have no rice, fowls, or cattle of any
 “ kind; they seem to live upon cocoanuts, sweet potatoes,
 “ and sugarcanes. They catch fish, and dry them in the
 “ smoke; these fish they either strike with their lances, or
 “ catch, in a drawing net, of which they make very neat
 “ ones. They do not chew betel, a custom which prevails
 “ universally among the eastern nations.” T.

Passanger, bearing N.E. by E. ; but at sunset we could not see any appearance of land ; but as we had not been able to take an observation of the latitude at noon, on account of the haziness of the weather, I judged it more prudent to ply to and fro with little sail during the night, than, by standing on at an uncertainty, to bring ourselves into danger : we had very rough weather that night, with violent flaws of wind, and a thick cloudy sky, with rain, thunder, and lightning.

At daybreak, on the following morning, when the rough weather began to blow over a little, and the sky cleared up to the northward, we saw the *Keizers*, or *Emperors*-island, bearing N.E. by N. and the summit of the high hill of *Kraketau*, just rising above the horizon, in the E.N.E. ; but the sky being very thick and hazy to the east and south, we could not see any thing else, and the wind veering continually about, we were obliged to tack every minute : this continued till nine o'clock, A.M. when the wind settling in the W.N.W. we steered large N.N.E. In a short time the wind encreased to a violent storm, with dreadful gusts of
wind,

wind, by which we were three times obliged to take in our topsails; but getting a glimpse of *Prince's-island* at half past ten o'clock, bearing east and E. by S. from us, and a violent current, setting to the southeast, carrying us forcibly towards the land, we were forced to set our topsails again, in order to haul off from the leeshore, in which we succeeded, the high hill of that island bearing S.E. at half past three o'clock, P.M. and we then steered for *Krakatau*, and dropped anchor, at seven o'clock, P.M. on the east side of it, in forty-five fathoms water, soft mud bottom.

The next day, the wind being favourable, we got under sail again, at eight o'clock, A.M. We passed a Dutch ship that lay at anchor in the bay of *Jeritte*, and let drop our anchors, at seven o'clock, P.M. under the high land of *Bantam*, in twenty-four fathoms, mud bottom.

We continued at anchor the 24th, being occupied in clearing and cleaning the ship; and here we received intelligence, that the governor general, PETER ALBERT VANDER PARRA, had died, on the 28th of December of the preceding year, at his countryseat

Weltevreden (well contented), and that the director general, JEREMIAH VAN RIEMSDYCK, had succeeded to his dignity.

We set sail again, on the 25th of March, in the morning, before daybreak, and passed, at nine o'clock, A.M. the ship *Maria Jacoba*, Captain DEKKER, coming from *Padang*, which was the same vessel we had seen at anchor in the bay of *Jeritte*, two days before. At four o'clock, P.M. meeting with a contrary wind and current, we anchored under *Menscheneeters*, or *Cannibal-island*.

On the 26th, in the morning, we again got under sail, and should have reached the road of *Batavia* before the evening, had we not been prevented by a violent flaw of wind and rain, from the s.s.w.; we came to an anchor just in time under the island *Horn*, but the wind was so strong, that our anchor dragged, and we were obliged to let go another.

Sailing again on the 27th, we anchored, a little after twelve o'clock at noon, in the road before *Batavia*.

Going on shore, at three o'clock, the boat was in great danger of oversetting, by a sudden and violent gust of wind and rain from the west; but we got safe into the river,
and

and reached the city at half past four o'clock, when I immediately gave information of my arrival to his excellency, Governor VAN RIEMSDYCK, delivering the Company's papers into his hands.

On the 13th of April, I went with my ship to the island *Onrust*, where she was to receive a new bowsprit and mainmast, and I returned the same evening to *Batavia*.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that on my voyage back from *Surat*, we met with signs of land, when we were yet at a very great distance from the shore.

Floating red blubber, which is generally considered in these seas as a certain sign of land, was seen when we were full one hundred and forty leagues from the island *Engano*; a large turtle, at the distance of one hundred and twenty-five leagues; a little landbird, at one hundred leagues; greens, wood, and bamboos, at sixty leagues; a turtle and two water-snakes, at fifty-five leagues; and the trunk of a cocoanut-tree, and some bamboos, at thirty leagues distance.

We lost thirty-one men on the voyage from *Surat*; of whom twenty were Moors, one of whom was drowned; nine were native soldiers; and two were European sailors.

On the 29th of May, the ship *Ouwerkerk* was again appointed to go a voyage to *Surat*; together with the ship *Venus*; but it was about the middle of August before we began to take in our cargo, as there was a great scarcity of sugar, which was to constitute the greatest part of the lading, and the *Venus* was to go first, because she was to convey the bales of piecegoods from *Surat* to *Ceylon*; and she accordingly sailed on the 11th of August.

My ship had, in the mean time, undergone a thorough repair, and had got a new main and foremast, bowsprit, and most of her yards, which had become unserviceable; among her repairs were likewise a new beam, and knee, in the hold, which had most likely been sprung by the straining of the ship, when under a press of sail.

I sailed with her, in the month of August, from *Onrust* to *Batavia*, in order to take on board the rest of the lading, which was not, however, actually completed till the 28th of September, when the crew were mustered, and found to consist of eighty European seamen, twenty-eight Moors of *Surat*, and twenty-five Malay, or country, soldiers.

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from BATAVIA—From PRINCE's-Island.

—Signs of Land.—Passage of the Line.—Occurrences of the Voyage.—View of CEYLON—Of Cape COMORIN.—Anchorage at ANSJENGO—In the Road of COCHIM.—The Dutch Company at War with HYDER ALI on the Coast of MALABAR.

HAVING received the Company's papers, I went on board on the evening of the 29th of September, and we weighed anchor the next morning, and sailed from the road of *Batavia* to the island *Onrust*, where we cast anchor at noon, having to take in there some timber for masts for *Surat*; but not being able to get it on board, by the violence of the sea-breeze, and our time being too precious to admit of our stopping another day for that purpose, we resolved to pursue our voyage without delay.

We, therefore, got under weigh on the ensuing morning, and steering first between the island *Middleburgh* and the reef of *Ontong Java*,

Java, and afterwards between the *Great Combuis* and *Menscheneeters* island, we anchored, in the evening, about two leagues east of the point of *Pontang*.

The day after, setting sail again at four o'clock, A.M. we should have reached the bay of *Anjer* in the evening, if we had not been prevented by calms; and finding that we were driving, by a violent current setting to the westward, upon the *Verkenfboek*, or *Hog-point*, of *Sumatra*, we let drop our anchor, in forty fathoms water, not far from the *Toppershoedje*.

On the 3d of October, we again weighed anchor; but the little wind (and what little there was blew besides from the s.w.) kept us till four o'clock, P.M. before we got as far as the bay of *Anjer*, where we anchored in twenty-eight fathoms water.

Getting under sail again on the 5th, we kept plying, with a light air of wind from the westward, to weather *Kraketau*: but as it fell calm in the evening, and the current began to set to the eastward, we were again compelled to come to an anchor in thirty-three fathoms water, in order not to drive in again with the stream.

On the 6th, getting under sail again, early in the morning, we worked up against a westerly wind, making but little progress till sunset, when the wind changed to s.e. and we steered west towards the mouth of the straits; at nine o'clock, p.m. *Krakatau* bore due north,

The next morning, at sunrise, *Prince's*-island bore s.e.; and taking our departure thence, we steered s.w. by w. in order to run into the track of the settled southeasterly tradewind, which we met with the same night, blowing in such steady gales, that we immediately changed our course to west, that we might not run needlessly too far south; the more, as the ship, by her violent lee-larches to starboard, had been greatly strained, and let in much water, so that we made twenty inches of water at the pump every watch.

On the 11th of October, several pieces of wood floated by us, that seemed to be pieces of a wreck; among others, one that resembled a yard, or a topmast.

On the day after, we saw several bunches of seaweed, and patches of filth, together with a little landbird, although we were, at that time, full eighty leagues from the land.

On

On the 14th, we lost the southeasterly tradewind, and found the wind veering to the west, with violent gusts, and showers of rain.

As this weather continued, we had to conclude that, although it was but about the middle of October, the monsoon was already beginning to break up, and that, therefore, the northeast winds would prevail early to the north of the line, for which reason we judged it best to depart in so far from the Company's sailing instructions, that, by the course we should steer, we should make the island of *Ceylon* to the east of it, instead of to the west, and thus keep our wind; and we accordingly bore away on the 18th, steering N.W. and, on the 25th, north.

On the 30th of October, we caught a little landbird, a species of *matacilla*, which, as we were only forty minutes from under the line, we concluded came from a certain small and low island, which is placed in the maps, and which the Indian Pilot speaks of as situated hereabouts.

On the 2d of November, we passed the equinoctial, at 103° east of *Teneriffe*, according to our dead-reckoning; but by an observation of the distance of the sun and moon,

moon, made by a sextant of fifteen inches range, by which we found ourselves one degree more to the westward, it was in 102° of east longitude that we passed the line.

Immediately on entering the northern hemisphere, we met with nothing but westerly winds, which blew in sudden flaws, and with great violence, so that we sometimes could not hang out a single rag of canvas for a whole watch, and the ship, even when under her bare poles, rolled so much to leeward, that the ports of the upper deck were half under water, to which the disproportionate narrowness of the ship, with regard to her length, did not a little contribute.

Heavy showers of rain, and constant hazy weather, prevented us, for six days, from seeing the sun at noon, by which we could not be certain of our latitude. This continued till the 8th of November, when this stormy weather abated, and on the 15th we met with the northeasterly winds, in the north latitude of 63° , on which day we also saw a turtle and a little landbird.

On the 22d November, in the afternoon, one of the Javanese pilgrims fell overboard, and it was out of our power to save him, on
account

account of the highrunning sea, and the rapid headway of the vessel.

I had let few opportunities pass of taking observations of the distances of the fixed stars from the moon, with the beforementioned sextant, and which seldom varied more than one degree from our longitude by dead-reckoning. I followed the calculations of Mr. DE BORDA, as given in the *Connoissance de Temps* of 1772, and I continued to take observations by them till the 20th of November, when I was prevented by indisposition from going on with them, and none of the officers on board had any knowledge how to make those calculations.

My observations of the 19th and 20th of November, gave variations with our estimation; the first of about one degree, and the other of twenty-five minutes, more to the eastward; and the last variation differed but nine minutes, from the observation which we made upon running in sight of *Ceylon*, on the 24th of November.

We first discovered that island at half past one o'clock, P.M.; it appeared with a small round hill, which, upon approaching nearer, we found to be the *Tepelberg*, or *Nipple-hill*,

hill, so called, because it has at the top, on each side, a round prominence, in the same situation, and resembling in form, the nipples upon the breasts of women.

At sunset we computed that we were two leagues abreast of the *Little Baixos*, which, with the *Great Baixos*, lying five leagues s.w. by s. from the former, are two dangerous rocky shoals, which require much caution, on making *Ceylon* from the eastward, properly to avoid, and at the same time not to lose the land, by the violent currents which set off from it to the southward; we likewise saw at that time a large obtuse hill, or rock, close to the seashore, which is called the *Elephant*.

At sunrise, the following day, being the 25th of November, we again saw the land of *Ceylon*, and steered for it; we were then abreast of *Mature*: at half past nine o'clock, A.M. we came in sight of the city of *Punto Gallo*, the *Hooiberg*, or *Haystack*, and the *Pike of Adam*, the former being a round hill like a haystack, and the latter the spiry, but somewhat crooked, summit of an elevated mountain inland.

Half an hour afterwards, we struck soundings, for the first time, off *Ceylon*, in thirty-eight fathoms, and at noon we had passed *Punto Gallo*; a short time afterwards, we met with contrary winds, from the N.W. and north, which prevented us from gaining to windward as far as *Colombo*, which had been my intention, in order to make *Cape Comorin* with greater speed and certainty. As it was, we did not get sight of that promontory till the 30th of November.

On the 3d of December, we cast anchor before *Anjengo*, where the English have a fort and settlement. I received from the chief there a present of four baskets of vegetables; which, on account of my continued indisposition, was a most gratifying refreshment.

The ensuing day we passed *Coylang*, or *Quilon*, the southernmost fortress of our Company on the coast of *Malabar*, and determined to run into the road of *Cochim*, in order to take in a fresh supply of water. We let drop our anchor in that road, on the 6th of December, at eight o'clock, P.M. in seven fathoms, stiff clay bottom.

We

We found here at anchor two Portuguese ships ; the one a king's ship, on her voyage to *Lisbon*, and the other a merchant-vessel: they both came from *Goa*. Farther to the north, lay at anchor the Company's ships *Hoolwerf* and *Honcoop*, commanded by Captains VAN DER KUYL and DEUNE.

The next day I sent my first lieutenant on shore, to give information to Mr. MOENS, governor of the *Malabar* coast, and counsellor of India, of my arrival, and my wants, not being yet in a fit state to go on shore myself.

On the return of that officer, I learnt from him, that the Company were here in open hostility with the nabob of *Mysore*, HYDER ALI CHAN, otherwise called HYDER NAIG, and that he had taken possession of what is called the *new conquest*, or the province of *Paponetty*; that the fort of *Chittua* had surrendered to him, and that he now threatened to attack *Cranganore*; on which subject I shall be more explicit in another place.

On the 11th, being somewhat better, I went on shore, in a countryboat which Mr.

MOENS had 'fent to fetch me, as it was more easy than my ship's boat. That gentleman likewise politely offered me the use of his house, during my stay here, which, together with good attendance, and much ease, soon re-established me in perfect health.

CHAPTER XIII.

Account of the Possessions of the Dutch on the Coast of MALABAR.—Road of COCHIM —Account of the Coast.—Derivation of the Name of MALABAR.—PAPONETTY.—Munseons.—The GHAUTS.—Fertility of the Country.—Productions.—Articles of Trade.—Inhabitants.—Their Religion.—Christians of ST. THOMAS.—The Nairs.—Jews.—Their Town.—Synagogues.—Copy of the Pentateuch.—Customs, &c.

THE *Malabar*, or rather the forts of *Coylang*, *Cali Coylang*, *Cranganore*, and *Cananore*, which the Portuguese established on that coast, together with the city of *Cochim*, is a conquest made by the Company in the years 1662 and 1663, and which they still possess, with the exception of *Cananore*, which, at the earnest recommendation of Mr. *SENE*, at that time governor of the *Malabar*, and perhaps by a representation of its utter inutility, was sold, in the year 1770, to the sultan of *Anchediva*, for the sum of one hundred thousand rupees.

The country in which the above places are situated still belongs to its ancient native sovereigns, who, however, have been in such strict alliance with the Company, that it differed little from actual vassalage.

These lands are bounded, on the south, by the kingdom of *Travancore*, which, from time to time, has been suffered, by a mistaken policy of the Company's ministers, to be extended far to the eastward behind the lands of *Cochim*, as far as the river of *Cranganore*, so that the king of *Cochim* has but a little space of ground left to him; to the north, they border upon the empire of the *samorin*, or king, of *Calicut*, which is, at present, under the dominion of HYDER ALI CHAN, who some years ago expelled the *samorin*, who has now sought an asylum with the king of *Travancore*; to the west, they are washed by the sea, and in the good monsoon the whole coast may be said to be a good road; the road of *Cochim*, however, is the chief, and is the most resorted to, on account of the trade, which is principally carried on there. It is, according to good observations, in the north latitude of $9^{\circ} 58'$; the anchorage is in five, six,

six, and seven fathoms water, muddy bottom, the flag of the city bearing from E. by N. to east.

The coast is safe and clear, every where along the Company's establishment, except at the mouth of the river of *Cranganore*, where there is a reef, at the north side, which stretches out to sea, about three quarters of a league; it is called the reef of *Aycotia* by our navigators: before *Coylang* there is a similar one, but which does not extend half so far out. South of the abovementioned mouth of the river of *Cranganore*, there is a bay, formed by mudbanks; likewise one not far from *Porca*, and another south of *Cochim*; the banks forming which extend full a league out to sea, and into which vessels may run with safety during the bad monsoon, and may lie in twenty and less feet water, almost without anchors or cables, in perfect security against the heavy seas which then roll in upon this lee-shore, as they break their force upon the soft mudbanks, and within them nothing but a slight motion is perceived.

According to what the Danish mission-

aries write, in their accounts of the East-Indies, Continuation the 22d, page 897, the name of *Malabar* is derived from the Malabar word *maleyalem*, denoting *mountainous*: the terminations *ar*, *tar*, and *bar*, signify in that language a *people*, or *nation*, consequently *maleiwar*, or *maleibar*, would denote as much as *mountaineers*, or *inhabitants of the mountains*: the syllable *lei*, when uttered with rapidity, takes the sound of *la*, and the name of *Malabar* was applied to the people, from the hilly country, who descended from the mountains, and settled upon the coast. Preface to WERENDLEY'S *Maleidsche Spraakkunst*, or *Grammar of the Malay Language*, pages 55 and 56.

That tract of country which is properly called the *Malabar*, lies nearly in the direction of N.W. and S.E. from Cape *Comorin* to *Canara*, between the eighth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude; to the east, it is divided from the coast of *Coromandel*, by a high range of mountains, called the *Ghauts*, and it is washed to the south-west by the Arabian sea. The principal kingdoms which it comprehends are those
of

of *Trevancore*, *Cochim*, *Cranganore*, and *Calicut*; the first of which is now the chiefest and most powerful.

The extent of the Company's possessions, from *Coylang* to *Chittua* (for *Cananore* is no more, as I have before remarked, under their dominion), comprizes, from south-east to northwest, a distance of thirty-two leagues; yet with the salvo, that, except the province of *Paponetty*, or what is called the *new conquest*, and a few small districts interspersed along the coast, the Company possess no other actual property in the soil, than in that upon which their fortifications are constructed.

The land is every where low, and intersected by many rivers, which descend from the interior mountains; it abounds in plantations of trees, especially of that useful one, the cocoanut-tree, and affords a very pleasant prospect.

Paponetty is a district, or island, about ten Dutch miles in length, and one and a half in breadth, within which, however, there are still a few insignificant villages, subject or tributary to the *samorin*, but which are mortgaged for a certain sum to the

the Company ; the whole of the remainder of it was conquered by us during the war, and was ceded to the Company by the peace which was made, in the year 1715, with that prince.

As is the case in most parts of India situated between the tropics, so here the year is divided into two seasons, namely, the dry season, and the rainy season ; the latter is called the bad, and the former the good monsoon ; the bad monsoon is reckoned from October to April, and the other months constitute the good season.

It is remarkable that this is solely occasioned by the mountains of the *Ghauts*, for upon the coast of *Coromandel*, exactly the reverse takes place with respect to the monsoons. As soon as the rainy season, accompanied by very tempestuous weather, sets in on that coast, it clears up on the *Mala-bar* coast, and is fine and dry weather all along the western side of the great peninsula within the *Ganges*, as far as *Surat* ; and *vice versa* in the contrary case.

The winds, which blow from the north-east throughout the whole of the Indian ocean, north of the line, during the bad monsoon,

monsoon, drive the clouds against the sides of those elevated mountains, where they condense, and fall in heavy showers upon the country to the eastward of them; and in the like manner, in the other season, when the winds blow from the southwest, that chain of mountains serves as a fence by which the storms and tempests, raging on one side of them, are prevented from interrupting the serenity and sunshine which prevail at the same moment of time on the other. During the bad monsoon, it is only with great danger that vessels can venture upon these coasts.

The land of *Malabar* is every where intersected with rivers, which run down from the abovementioned mountains, and which render it fertile in the extreme, particularly in rice; the sea likewise furnishes a copious supply of fish; and provisions are, in consequence, so abundant and cheap, that a native inhabitant, with his family, can subsist with ease upon the value of six Dutch doits* per day.

* Equal to about three farthings of our money. T.

The first and principal article of trade produced upon the coast of *Malabar*, is pepper; of which such abundance is collected in this country, that, according to the memorial of the commandant CUNES, addressed to his successor in the commandery, GASPARD DE JONG, in the year 1756, no less than ten full cargoes (which may amount to between eight and nine millions of pounds weight) might be annually exported: but the half of this quantity is carried over the mountains to the coast of *Coromandel*, to the north, to the *Deccan*, and farther on to different parts of *Hindoستان*.

The pepper from *Malabar* is esteemed the best of all that is produced in *Asia*, and is the most sought after by all nations.

The areca-nut is the second production of the country; it is conveyed by land to all parts of the peninsula, and likewise, by sea, to the coast of *Coromandel*, and to *Bengal*.

A third production is the wild cinnamon*, of which, it is said, that a yearly quantity of one million of pounds, is exported

* *Cassia lignea*.

to the Gulph of *Persia*, and to the Red Sea. A small proportion is likewise sent to Europe, where it is principally made use of to adulterate the genuine, or Ceylon, cinnamon.

The two sorts are, however, very distinct, and easily distinguishable; the genuine cinnamon of *Ceylon*, is of a yellowish red colour, and the wild sort is much darker, and of a dirty red; it is likewise coarser grained, and is worse barked than the *Ceylon* cinnamon; it has, indeed, a similarity of flavour, but by far not an equality of strength, nor has it that pungent, yet gratifying, effect upon the tongue and palate. It is used on this coast, both by Europeans and natives, in room of the Ceylon sort, for which there is not the least demand here.

A production is likewise met with here, which might be made use of to adulterate mace, and from which it is not easy to be distinguished, at first sight; it differs, however, in form, from real mace, which appears of a leafy texture, while this is in thinner filaments; the colour is exactly alike; but this has not the least flavour of spiciness,
and

and when chewed has a kind of refinny taste.

Coarse cotton cloths are also made in the southern parts, in the *Trevancore* country, but they do not form a considerable object of foreign trade. They are mostly disposed of to the English at *Ansjengo*.

Coir, or the stringy coat of the coconut, is equally exported in considerable quantities ; it is partly, however, brought hither from the *Maldivé* islands, and is used for making of cordage, with which both European and country ships and vessels are provided.

Capok, forms also an article of trade, and is exported to *Bengal*, to the coast of *Coromandel*, and to *China*.

These are, to the best of my knowledge, the chief articles which the coast of *Malabar* yields, both for the inland and foreign trade.

The native inhabitants of the country are, in general, rather lean than otherwise : they are usually of the same size and stature as the Gentoos at *Surat* and in *Bengal* ; they are, however, much blacker, and nearly as
black

black as the African negroes, yet their countenances are better formed.

Their religion is that of the Hindoos; but in the neighbourhood of our possessions they have been, in a great measure, converted to the Roman catholic religion, by the missionaries of that persuasion: there are likewise many Roman catholic churches here.

There are also here many christians of those called christians of St. THOMAS *, yet in much less numbers than Roman catholics.

Amongst the Malabars, the *nairs* are the nobles and warriors of the land; they are known by the scymeter which they always wear whenever they stir abroad, and in the

* The christians of St. Thomas are nestorians, and follow, for the most part, the ceremonies of the Greek church; they perform the services of religion in the Syriac language. The patriarchs of *Alexandria*, and afterwards of *Mosul*, used to send them their bishops. They reject transubstantiation, purgatory, and all image-worship; setting up, however, a cross in their churches. They do not allow their priests to marry a second time; and do not baptise their children till they are forty days old. In the time of VALENTYN, there were seventy-five churches of this sect of christians on the coast of *Malabar*. T.

management of which, I was told, they are very dexterous, particularly against a flying enemy. They have many privileges above the common people.

Their princes possess an almost absolute authority over their subjects : they are not, however, allowed to enter into engagements, or contract alliances ; which, however much to their own advantage, might be injurious to the interests of their subjects.

Besides the original Malabars, people of various nations are to be met with here, who have been allured hither by the profits of trade ; there are Moors, Arabians, Persians, and, amongst others, a colony of Jews, who, as they pretend, are the posterity of the ten tribes carried away into captivity by SHALMANESER, and who, after being liberated from their Assyrian bonds, came hither, where they have, from time immemorial, constituted a small, but isolated, people, who have been greatly favoured by the princes of the country, and have received from them, and enjoyed for a series of ages, a number of valuable privileges ; amongst which, the free permission to ex-
ercise

ercise their religion without restraint, may not be considered as the most unimportant.

They dwell in a separate town, the houses of which are built of stone, and are mostly plaistered white on the outside : in it are three synagogues, the chiefest and largest of which I compute to be thirty-five or forty feet in length, and about one-third less in breadth ; the floor of it is laid with square tiles, of blue and white Canton china ; the case, in which, their copies of the books of MOSES are preserved, stands opposite to the entrance, and is made of very beautiful wood ; in the middle of this place of worship stands the pulpit for the reader, or expounder of the law, and above it hangs a large brass branched candlestick, by which, and by the lamps which are fixed along the sides, it is lighted up in the evening.

When the Dutch made their first attempt upon *Cochim*, in the year 1662, the Jews secretly favoured them ; but they paid dear for their interference ; for the Portuguese, who soon discovered it, plundered them of almost all they had, as soon as the siege was raised : they destroyed, or attempted to destroy, their synagogues, and every thing that

belonged to them : and it is worthy of observation, that, when the Dutch made themselves masters of *Cochim*, the year afterwards, and the Jews were reinstated by them in their former condition, their Pentateuch was found by accident, or had been preserved by religious care, uninjured and entire. I was informed, by a person well versed in such matters, that their copy of the Pentateuch, is a very beautiful and authentic one, and the memory of the time when it first came into their hands, has been entirely lost.

Although most of them are nearly as black as the native Malabars, they yet retain, both men and women, those characteristic features which distinguish this singular people from all the other nations of the earth.

Most of them are employed in trade, both in large and in small : here, as well as elsewhere, the Jews are addicted to traffic ; and, from the adventuring merchant, to the retailing pedlar, they are the genuine devotees of interest and commerce. Some of the Jew merchants of *Cochim*, are not shy of purchasing entire cargoes of goods. One
of

of them, called EZECHIEL, who died some years ago, had drawn most of the Cochim trade into his own hands; he left three sons, who are still alive, and who are among the most opulent and principal merchants of the place.

When these Jews purchase a slave, they immediately manumit him; they circumcise him, and receive him as their fellow Israelite, and never treat him as a slave.

The town, or village, which they inhabit has received the appellation of *Makwan Sieri*.

CHAPTER XIV.

Description of COCHIM.—Its Fortifications and Means of Defence.—Buildings.—Government.—Retrenchment of the Establishment in 1698.—The Outposts or Factories.—Historical Relation of the Concerns of the Dutch on the Coast of Malabar.—War with the Samorin.—Sentiments of Mr. VAN IMHOFF.—Alliance with the King of TRAVANCORE.—Usurpations of HYDER ALI CHAN.—His Disputes with the Dutch—And open Hostilities.—CHITTUA taken by him.—Overtures for Accommodation of the Disputes.—Trade of the Company here.—Charges and Profits.

IN the last chapter I have enumerated the Company's possessions on the coast of *Malabar*. *Cochim* is the capital of them, the seat of government, and the residence of the governor.

This city stands at the northwest point of an island, which is about eighteen Dutch miles in length, and two in breadth : to the south the island is formed by the mouth of the river of *Calli Coylang*, and to the north
by

by that which runs from *Cranganore*, and separates it from the island of *Baypin*. The form of the city is nearly semicircular, and it is about a mile and a half in circumference : on the land side it is fortified by six large bastions and a cavalier, and to the eastward it has an irregular outwork ; on the water side, it is provided with a substantial wall, in which there are loopholes for small arms, and which terminates at the east end in a ravelin before the cavalier : a wet ditch runs round these works, and before it is a covered way and glacis, tolerably well executed. The fortifications have been repaired, and restored, by governor MOENS, out of the very ruinous condition into which they had been suffered to fall by former governors.

Although it cannot be said that the greatest part of these fortifications are constructed according to the exact rules of art, yet the place is sufficiently fortified to withstand a *coup de main*, and it would require a regular siege to take it. Approaches cannot even be made from any other quarter than the south, where there is a dry and level plain ; for to the eastward, as far as the rivers, there

are several morasses, which would render an attack on that side extremely difficult : besides, the place is fortified the strongest on that side, and is the weakest by the seaside. In order to remedy this defect in some measure, a kind of ravelin has been constructed between the bastion *Gelderland* and the beach ; but it is not, in my judgment, of sufficient strength, or importance, to deter an enemy from making an attempt on that side.

The city cannot be attacked by vessels from the river, until the fire of the bastion *Gelderland*, and of the ravelin *Overyssel*, be silenced, which could only be done by batteries to be erected at the southern extremity of the opposite island of *Baypin*. The security of the place would, however, be much augmented, by the destruction of the wood which lies about a mile and a half southeast from the city, whereby the enemy would be deprived of a very important advantage for the carrying on of their operations, namely, the timber and fascines necessary for constructing of batteries, and for filling up the morasses, stagnant pools, and ditches in their way. The woods, which
cover

cover the southern part of *Baypin*, and which extend down to the beach opposite to the city, ought equally to share the same fate.

Cochin has three gates ; one to the westward, called the Bay-gate ; one to the eastward, called the New-gate ; and one to the northward, leading to the river, called the Water-gate.

The principal buildings are, the church, and the government-house. The former is a pretty large, oblong, edifice, in which there is a very indifferent organ ; the latter is a roomy, commodious, and airy mansion, fronting a large plain, and appropriated for the residence of the governor ; opposite to it stands the main-guard, and on the left side are the barracks for the body-guards of the governor.

The streets, which are, in general, wide, are neatly kept, but they are not embellished with many handsome houses. There is a city-hotel, where strangers are accommodated with lodgings ; our countrymen pay a rixdollar, and foreigners two rupees, per day, for board and lodging : the keeping

of the hotel is annually farmed out by the government.

The chief of this establishment bears, at present, the title of governor and director; the gentleman who filled that office when I was here, was Mr. ADRIAN MOENS, of *Middleburgh*, in *Zealand*, who was at the same time councillor-extraordinary of India. When the chief is not a member of the supreme government at *Batavia*, he has only the title and rank of commandant.

A council is adjoined in the direction, to the governor; consisting of the second, who is a senior merchant, the fiscal, the chief of the military, the warehousekeeper, the *dispensier*, or purveyor, and all the junior merchants who may be in the settlement, either in, or out of, office; as also, I believe, at present, the comptroller of equipment, because the rank of sea-captain has now been given to him: the council have a secretary, who is a junior merchant, translator of the Malabar language, and at the same time chief of *Coylaing*.

The outposts, or forts, are managed by bookkeepers, as residents: these are, with the

the exception of *Coylang*, or *Quilon*, five in number, namely, one at *Cranganore*, one at *Cali Coylang*, or *Quile Quilon*, one at *Porca*, one at *Paponetty*, and one at *Chittua*, which last is actually a prisoner in the hands of HYDER ALI CHAN.

The chief of the military possesses the rank and title of major; and the chief of the artillery that of captain-lieutenant.

I do not know the exact number of troops that are usually stationed here; but I believe that they may amount to about four hundred effective men.

The services of public worship are performed by one clergyman in orders, and two *krankbezoeckers* *.

Amongst the several conquests and settlements which the Dutch Company have made, or established, in the Indies, that of the *Malabar* is not one of the most advantageous or important to the Dutch. It costs

* In 1776-1777, the whole establishment of the Dutch, on the coast of *Malabar*, consisted of, 102 persons in civil, and three in ecclesiastical, employments; ten surgeons and assistants; sixty belonging to the artillery; forty-nine seamen and marines; 613 soldiers, and thirty mechanics: in all 867 Europeans, besides 405 natives. 7.

the Company much money, on account of the destructive wars in which they have in consequence engaged, the rivalry in trade of numerous competitors, and, though last not least, the infidelity and peculation of their servants.

It was but a short time after the first capture of these possessions from the Portuguese, that the direction which had been established in them was found to be too cumbersome and expensive, and a resolution was accordingly taken in October of the year 1686, that the fortifications of *Cochim*, *Cranganore*, *Cananore*, and *Coylang*, should not be kept up, the garrisons be withdrawn or reduced, and the number of the Company's qualified servants considerably diminished. But the execution of this resolution was, for various reasons, delayed till the general revision of the affairs of the Company by the supreme government at *Batavia*, made on the 19th of August, 1697; and till after the opinion of Mr. JOHN VAN HOORN, the then director general, was delivered in. The result of this resolution was principally as follows :

I. That

I. That the fortifications of the city of *Cochin*, which, by the large garrison it required, and the continual reparations to be made, in consequence of the great extent of the walls, were too expensive for the Company to maintain, should be reduced by one-half.

II. That of the present fortifications of *Cananore*, the Portuguese tower should only be preserved, with a garrison of twenty, or, at the most, twenty-five, European soldiers, to which number the present garrison should be reduced.

III. That at *Cranganore**, the ancient interior works should only be preserved, with a garrison of twenty Europeans, which is judged a sufficient number for the purposes of the Company here.

IV. That it is likewise judged advisable at *Coylang* no more should be retained than the old Portuguese tower, or as much of the present works as may be thought necessary

* *Cranganore* was sold by the Dutch to the king of *Travancore*, taken from him by HYDER ALI, and retaken by the English in 1790. *Cochin*, *Quilon*, *Quile Quilon*, and the other settlements of the Dutch on the coast of *Malabar*, have shared the fate of the greater part of their Indian possessions, and are actually in the hands of the English. &c.

for the interest of the Company, with fifteen or twenty men, to which number the establishment there should be reduced ; and that the remainder of the fortifications of the three last mentioned places should be removed or demolished.

It was further thereby determined that all military outposts should be withdrawn, except that *Paponetty*, *Porca*, and *Cali Coylang*, should be retained as residencies, or factories, in order to keep an eye over what might be going forward all along the coast, and to avail of such opportunities of trade as might occur ; that a bookkeeper, or assistant, or else a trusty and intelligent serjeant, with two private soldiers, or seamen, should be stationed at each place, and also at *Tengena-patnam*, as soon as the disputes with the queen of *Ansjengo* shall have been amicably adjusted.

The vessels of all descriptions were to be reduced to one small yatch, two sloops, and three rowboats ; for it was determined not to obstruct any more, by measures of constraint and harshness, the navigation of the Malabars, and their trade in the productions of their country, consisting chiefly in arecanuts,

nuts, wild cinnamon, and pepper, which the Company could not exclusively purchase from them.

The number of pieces of artillery, which should thenceforward be employed upon the fortifications, should be fixed at ninety-five pieces of iron, and six pieces of brass, ordnance, with two mortars. And about five hundred and thirty Europeans, and thirty-seven natives, were judged sufficient for the service of the Company.

Upon this, the charges diminished considerably in the year 1698 ; and it is surprising that the resolutions just now detailed had not before been taken, and put in execution, since the experience of thirty years had already pointed out the injurious tendency of the former expensive establishment, with no adequate benefit. The ostentation of a great power, which cost the Company such large sums of money, had not the effect of producing in the native princes that degree of awe and apprehension, which is indispensably necessary for carrying on an exclusive trade.

Thus, Mr. SWAARDEKROON, in his memorial on the subject of the *Malabar* coast,
of

of the 31st of May, 1698, shews how little the power of the Company was feared by the rajah of *Cali Coylang*, who traded openly with that notorious pirate, WILLIAM KIDD.

His words are remarkable when, farther on, speaking of the conquest of the *Malabar*, he says, "that it is to be regretted that the Company carried so much sail here in the beginning, that they are now desirous of striking them, in order to avoid being overset."

In the year 1701, a war broke out between the Company and the samorin, which was put an end to by a treaty of peace, concluded on the 8th of January, 1710; but which was no longer maintained than till the year 1715, when the samorin surprised the fort of *Chittua*, which had been constructed in order to keep him in check: this event was followed by a memorable campaign, under the command of the counsellor of India, WILLIAM BAKKER, at the head of full four thousand men, both Europeans and natives, who subdued the whole of the enemy's country; notwithstanding which, no proportionate advantages were gained by the peace concluded with the samorin, on the

17th of December, 1717, in comparison with what might and ought to have been insisted on.

During this war, the English, or rather their commandant at *Tellicherry*, had assisted the samorin with money, ammunition, and gunners. But the worst consequences of the war were, that the charges of the *Malabar* government were not the less for it since it had been ended; on which account the supreme government at *Batavia*, in their secret dispatches to *Malabar*, of the 30th of September, 1721, express, in particular, their astonishment at the renewed spirit of hostility towards the native powers manifested by the Company's servants, and at the extravagance of the expences incurred by them. They further write, that they were of opinion, that, in case the samorin thought fit to attack the king of *Cochin*, who had so long enjoyed the protection of the Company, they should not take an active part in the quarrel, without, however, entering into any particular engagement with the samorin, to remain neutral, till it should be absolutely requisite to interfere.

Nevertheless, the charges, instead of being reduced

reduced within tolerable bounds, on the contrary, grew more exorbitant.

In the year 1739, Mr. VAN IMHOFF came from *Ceylon*, in order to examine into these affairs, and sent a report concerning them to the government at *Batavia*, by his letter of the 6th of July, 1739, in which he says, that the king of *Travancore* having been successful in the wars which he had undertaken, had rendered himself so much respected among the chief kings of the *Malabar* coast, that he was looked upon by every one with eyes of jealousy and apprehension.

Mr. VAN IMHOFF was, therefore, of opinion, that if it were requisite for the Company to maintain a balance of power amongst the chiefs of the *Malabar* coast, it could never be made to preponderate more to the prejudice or danger of the Company, than in favour of that prince, who was almost wholly attached to their competitors, and whose encrease of power could not but be pregnant with the most alarming consequences to their interests, whilst he, at the same time, merited some chastisement for his insolence towards them, independent of the primary consideration of maintaining a
due

due balance among the native powers of the *Malabar*.

That gentleman says, in another place, that there were but two ways to effect a reformation in the affairs of this government, which was absolutely necessary, as matters could positively not remain any longer in the situation in which they then were. One of these was, to follow the market-price in the purchase of pepper, that at least so much might be procured as was wanted for the return-ships from *Ceylon*. The other was, to enforce the contracts, by means of more energy, than those which had hitherto been employed; and to make those princes, who did not fulfil their engagements, feel the weight of the resentment, and the power of the arms of the Company, by exacting the penalties for the non-performance of their contracts, by force of arms and military execution, or by surprizing and carrying off to *Batavia* one or other of those princes, who shewed themselves the most refractory, which would create so much terror among them, that it would not be necessary to resort to the same expedient a second time.

Of these two means of redress, he disap-

proved of the first, alleging, that to follow the marketprice would, at that time, be both unprofitable and unjust, and, in future, unadvisable, and even dangerous and alarming for the interests of the Company. In result, he concluded that the second method would be the best.

Upon this, the people in the administration on the coast, immediately set about attacking *Travancore*, without even asking orders from *Batavia* on the subject. It was, however, speedily requisite to send for assistance from *Java*, in order to carry on the enterprize that had been begun; for, of all the princes who were represented by Mr. VAN IMHOFF as ready and willing to join their arms to those of the Company, the rajah of *Cali Coylang* alone, came to their assistance; and his attachment to us was his ruin, for his dominions were subdued by the king of *Travancore*, after our troops had been compelled to surrender their fortresses in *Travancore*, and to abandon the field.

In the mean time the expences and losses of the establishment encreased so much, that notwithstanding all the profits from the year 1740 to 1745, this commandery run
greatly

greatly in arrear. This war, that of *Java*, and the Macasser war, which were all waged at the same time, set the Company materially backward in their affairs.

The consequence of this inconsiderate conduct was a great decline in the reputation and importance of the Company on the coast of *Malabar*; for they concluded a treaty of peace, by which their allies were wholly abandoned, and left to themselves, without any conditions or interference on the part of the Company in their behalf; and, on the other hand, we entered into an exclusive alliance with the king of *Travancore*, as the most powerful prince in the country; the whole agreeable to a determination which had been taken on the subject at *Batavia*, and the instructions, to that effect, which were sent off on the 18th of October, 1748.

A stricter union afterwards took place between the Company and the king of *Travancore*, and a firm treaty of peace and alliance was made with him on the 15th of August, 1753, by which their hands were for ever tied from interfering in the Malabar disputes. The ninth article of this treaty does not appear in a light very honourable

to the Company ; it stipulates, that the Company shall recede from all engagements which they may have entered into with the other Malabar princes, whom the king of *Travancore* might choose to attack, and on no account interfere in their disputes, or afford them assistance or shelter ; nor in any respect raise any opposition to the enterprizes of the king.

This was the main spring of all ; this was the chief object of the king of *Travancore*, and that in which he mostly interested himself. Filled with the intention, and fired with the idea, of making extensive conquests, he knew no obstacle so powerful to prevent the accomplishment of his desires, as the power of the Company ; and by this treaty he secured an open field before him, for turning his arms to whatever quarter he chose.

It was not long before he availed himself of the advantage he had obtained. He made himself master of the kingdom of *Tekkan Koui*, whose prince was left unaided by his neighbours and allies ; and of several other places, to which the neutrality of the Company gave easy opportunities.

By the twentieth article of the abovementioned

tioned treaty, the Company bound themselves to provide that prince annually, to the value of twelve thousand rupees, or eighteen thousand guilders, various sorts of warlike stores and ammunition, and the prices of these articles were fixed as follows, viz.

a firelock at - - rupees 7. 16. or	f. 11	11	(£. 1 1 osterl.)
one hundred gunflints, - - -	o	13	(o 1 2)
a pound of gunpowder, - - -	o	13	(o 1 2)
one hundred leaden musket bullets,	o	14	(o 1 3)

as likewise some ironwork, and brass cannon.

On the other hand, the king engaged to sell to the Company, all the cotton cloths, and every year three thousand *candils* of pepper, of five hundred pounds weight each, together with all the other productions which the lands he was already possessed of, yielded : and the further quantity of two thousand *candils* of pepper out of those territories which he might in future conquer. For which the Company, according to articles v and vi, engaged to pay, namely, for each *candil* of good and sound pepper, properly *barped* or sifted, from the kingdoms of *Travancore* and *Ansjengo*, sixty-five rupees (*f. 97 15* —), and for the pepper produced in the countries which the king of *Travancore* might succeed

in subduing, in consequence of the neutrality of the Company, fifty-five rupees (*f.* 82 15 —) per *candil*; and moreover an export-duty of four *fanam rageas* * per *candil*.

The twenty-fourth article says; that the king shall besides receive an annual *douceur*, or present, from the Company, the value, however, of which was left to be fixed by them; this was afterwards settled, by the government of *Batavia*, at five thousand gilders †, upon the condition that the stipulated quantity of pepper should be duly delivered.

The twenty-fifth article states; that the Company's subjects shall be left unmolested in the lands, which have anciently belonged to them.

By this means *Travancore* became so powerful, that all the other princes of *Mala-bar*, seeing that the Company remained inactive, and beheld with eyes of indifference, or of approbation, the encreasing greatness of its rajah, used their utmost endeavours to engage the Company to alter their conduct, as well by offering to furnish them with various quantities of pepper, as by giving

* A *fanam* is about the value of 3*d.* sterling. *T.*

† About £.454 sterling. *T.*

secret informations of the evil intentions of the king of *Travancore* towards the Dutch.

But perceiving, at length, that every proposal was rejected, and every information slighted, with the coolest indifference, they then had recourse to the samorin, whom they persuaded to enter into hostilities against the Company; imagining, that if they were once obliged to take up arms, matters would come round again, according to their wishes.

The samorin finding, that instead of being resisted, the only arms opposed against him were ineffectual remonstrances, and vain menaces, grew bolder every day, till he at last overrun the Company's province of *Paponetty*, so that they were at length compelled to send a detachment of troops thither, to expel him from the territory of the Company; which was effected. But it was not long before the samorin made a new incursion into the Company's territory, and with better fortune, so that our people were forced to retire to *Cranganore*, with the loss of eight pieces of artillery, leaving the samorin in possession of *Paponetty*. Upon this he made preparations to invade the kingdom of *Cranganore*, which he shortly afterwards did, with an army of

five thousand men, and endeavoured to throw up some fortifications at *Aycotta*, in order to obstruct the navigation of the river, but in which he was fortunately prevented by our people.

The flames of war approaching thus by degrees nearer and nearer, and not having a sufficient number of troops at hand, to oppose the progress of the enemy, the government of *Malabar* came to a resolution, on the 20th of October, 1756, to request the assistance of a few hundred men from *Ceylon*, but the government of that island, being themselves in want of troops, excused themselves, on that ground, by their letter of the 14th of November following.

Before the troops of the samorin had advanced so far, Mr. CUNES, who was at that time the governor and commander in chief on the coast of *Malabar*, had written to the kings of *Cranganore* and *Airoer*, who were almost, as it were, the subjects of the Company, desiring them to station their *nairs* upon the frontiers of the province of *Paponetty*, in order to prevent the incursions of the enemy; but these princes openly took part with the samorin; and not without reason; the Com-
pany

pany had set them the example, and had first abandoned them, and left them at the mercy of the king of *Travancore*: why then should they abandon the samorin, who was now their only hope and support? Would they not then themselves have assisted in forging those fetters, which the king of *Travancore* would otherwise not have failed to cast upon them, to which the Company, by their mistaken policy, had smoothed the way?

When the king of *Travancore* was informed, by the commandant CUNES, of the hostilities which the samorin had committed against the Company, he answered with the greatest composure, “that he had told the “ambassadors of the samorin, that they “should dissuade their master from doing so.”

It was, at the same time, pretty well ascertained, that, far from using any dissuasive arguments, the king of *Travancore* had, on the contrary, greatly encouraged the samorin to persevere in his hostile exertions; trusting that, when matters came to greater extremities, the Company would call in his assistance, and that he should thereby have better opportunities of carrying on his projects of aggrandizement and conquest.

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The samorin, whose object was not so much the making war on the Company, as the prevention of a further encrease of power in the king of *Travancore*, made proposals of accommodation himself, offering even to furnish yearly two thousand *candils* of pepper to the Company, if they would but resolve to join their forces to his, and attack the king of *Travancore*; but far from listening to these proposals, or entering into treaty concerning them, so many preliminary articles of discussion were started, and conditions proposed, as if the Company had been the conquerors: this conduct appears to have been solely grounded upon an unwillingness to depart from their favourite system, or from the conditions of the engagement latterly entered into with *Travancore*; to which every thing was to be sacrificed. Yet instead of this conduct inducing the king of *Travancore* to be more and more attached to the Company's interest, he, on the contrary, after the disputes with the samorin were accommodated, had the hardiness to declare, that the Company must, in time, be contented with the delivery of his products in such a manner, and in such quantities, as he chose

chose to allow ; and that he did not intend to look upon them in any other light, than in that of merchants, not possessed of any territorial jurisdiction, or supreme authority, and who ought to follow the market-prices in paying for their purchases.

Of all the Malabar princes he thus remained the only formidable neighbour of the Company, doing, without opposition, whatever he liked ; which continued till lately when a still more dreaded enemy, both to himself and the Company, arose, one whose name has become famous by his wars against the English, the justly celebrated HYDER ALI CHAN BAHAUDER, otherwise HYDER NAIG, who, by his consummate courage and conduct, raised himself from the condition of a common trooper, to be master of the kingdom of *Mysore* (where he assumed only, however, the title of nabob, because the king of *Mysore* is still living, although kept in confinement by the usurper), and subdued the province of *Canara*, and the kingdom of *Calicut*, forcing the samorin to seek a refuge with the king of *Travancore*. HYDER ALI is now become the most formidable potentate of this part of India ; and if the Marattas, with whom he

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is incessantly at war, did not stand in his way, he would, in all probability, prescribe laws to the whole peninsula within the *Ganges*, in a very short time.

An implacable enemy of the English, of his hatred for which nation he has given innumerable proofs, and burning with the desire of supplanting the nabob of the *Car-natic*, upon the coast of *Coromandel*, who was in every thing subservient to the English, he had in view to make himself master of the kingdom of *Travancore* *, in order to leave

* The only prince on the *Malabar* coast who had escaped the oppression and violence of HYDER ALI, was the king of *Travancore*. His means of defence were extraordinary and romantic. Around his capital, and chief province, he suffered the woods to grow for a number of years, till they formed an impenetrable belt of great depth. This, cut into labyrinths, afforded easy egress to his people, and rendered all attacks from without impracticable. Immured within this natural fortification, he encouraged the cultivation of the arts and sciences; he invited the approach of men of genius and knowledge; he cultivated the friendship of the brahmins, and was himself admitted into their society, by the ceremony of passing through a golden cow; and by preparing his own military stores, casting of cannon, making of gunpowder, &c. he rendered himself independent of foreign aid. The subjects of his remoter provinces, to avoid the ravages of war, took refuge within the woody circle; and, whenever they could do it with safety, returned, with their families and effects, to their former habitations. T.

no enemy behind him, when he attacked the *Caratic*; for this reason, he sent, about a year ago, to request of the government of the *Malabar*, a free passage for his troops thither, through, or along, the territories of the Company.

The refusal of this request, and the delay of a reply to a letter, which he had dispatched, accompanied with considerable presents, to the supreme government at *Batavia* (which delay was occasioned by the length of the voyage performed by the vessel, by which the letter and presents were sent, and likewise by a little negligence of which the people at *Batavia* were guilty, so that the ship from *Batavia*, that arrived on the coast of *Malabar* the following year, brought neither answer or presents, in return to HYDER ALI, or the least notice of the matter to Governor MOENS), excited a great degree of resentment in the breast of the haughty Mysorean, who was then, indisputably, the greatest prince in those parts. This, Mr. MOENS endeavoured to soften as much as possible, by writing at one time, that the extraordinary length of the voyage was the occasion of the delay, and at another, that the
reply

reply to his dispatches would come by ~~the~~ Coromandel or Ceylon ships; but nothing could efface the impressions which this imaginary, or real, affront, had made in the vindictive heart of HYDER ALI, who intimated without reserve, that he very well perceived that the Company cared little for his friendship.

Mr. MOENS, who foresaw that it would be impossible to avoid coming to a rupture with this powerful and restless prince, principally because his request to be allowed to march through the territories of the Company, in order to attack the country of *Travancore*, was refused, entered into closer engagements with the kings of *Travancore* and of *Cochin*, to assist each other with all their might in case of need. The latter seemed even inclined to act offensively, in order not to be liable to undergo the same fate as the *samorin*; but this was discouraged by Mr. MOENS, who knew very well that the whole burthen and expence of the war would fall upon the Company, as the pusillanimity of the native princes, and their dread of the arms of HYDER ALI, were too great, to expect any effectual co-operation from them.

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The flames of war, which had been so long a kindling, burst out at length, in the month of October, 1716. HYDER ALI sent his general, CHA DERGAM, with eight or ten thousand men, to make an irruption into the possessions of the Company, namely, in the sandy country or province of *Paponetty*; he ravaged the country with fire and sword, and laid siege to the fort of *Chittua*; this fort, which is a square, with four demi-bastions, had been duly provided with a sufficient garrison, and ammunition and provisions enough to hold out for some time.

The said general, CHA DERGAM, issued a manifesto, in the name of his master, the nabob HYDER ALI, by which he alleged that certain lands, situated within the province of *Paponetty*, belonged to the empire of the samorin, and that *Calicut* having been conquered by him, he required those lands to be delivered up to him by the Company, as an appendage to it.

To this, Mr. MOENS replied, that those lands had been mortgaged many years ago to the Company, by the samorin, for the sum of twelve thousand rupees; but that he

was

was ready, at any time, to deliver them up to whoever would repay to the Company the money for which they had been mortgaged: but no answer, or at least not a satisfactory one, was given to this.

Mr. MOENS, whose military force, agreeable to the customary sparingness of the Company, in this respect, was very trifling, scarcely amounting to two hundred effective men, had, upon the bursting of the storm, immediately written, in pressing terms, for a reinforcement of troops and vessels from *Ceylon*; and, by the diligent zeal of the governor there, Mr. FALK, these were sent with such expedition, that the troops were disembarked at *Cochim*, on the 4th of November, and were directly sent off to *Cran-ganore* and *Aycotte*, in order to prevent the enemy from penetrating in that quarter, and getting footing in the island of *Baypin*, whilst the kings of *Travancore* and *Cochim* threw up some strong and fortified lines, on the opposite side of the river, in order to defend their lands from an irruption on that side. On our side too, great assiduity was used, in forming a retrenchment under the

- the guns of *Cranganore*, and in fortifying *Aycotte*, that *Baypin* might be still better covered against any hostile attempt.

Chittua having now been invested for a long time, the garrison sent word to Mr. MOENS, that if they were not speedily succoured, they would be obliged to surrender, for want of provisions and ammunition.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Mr. MOENS determined to relieve that small, but important fort, whatever it might cost; that the enemy who were in force between *Chittua* to the north, and *Cranganore* to the south, might not be without some object of apprehension and check in their rear.

The Ceylon reinforcement had likewise come very opportunely for that purpose; and every thing being prepared for the expedition, and the supplies of provision and ammunition for the garrison of *Chittua* being packed in small cases and casks, in order to admit of an easier and more speedy conveyance on shore, and into the fort, the soldiers, to the number of one hundred and seventy or eighty men, were embarked on board the ship *Hoolwerf*, and a sufficient number of small vessels were provided for

the purpose of disembarking the men, and landing the stores and provisions, intended for the relief of *Chittua*.

On the same day that they failed in the morning, they anchored, at noon, abreast of *Chittua*: the commanding officer of the military wished to attempt a landing immediately; but, by the advice of the captain of the ship, who conceived that the surf upon the reef, where they would be obliged to land before they could get to *Chittua*, ran too high at that time, to render the attempt practicable, as likewise that the small vessels which were to convey the soldiers and stores on shore, were not yet in readiness, or in a proper situation, the attempt was deferred till the next day.

This expedition was planned and executed with so much secrecy, that the enemy were wholly uninformed of it, until they beheld the ship cast anchor before *Chittua*; and the delay in landing, gave an opportunity to the nabob's general, who immediately suspected the cause of the large ship, and so many small vessels, having anchored on the coast, to send, with all speed, a considerable number of ~~his~~ troops to take post upon

upon the reef, or rather the spit of land, which for some years had been washed up between *Gbittua* and the sea; where they placed themselves in ambuscade, waiting for the landing of our men.

These, ignorant of this circumstance, attempted to land on the following day, at noon; but, unfortunately, the first vessel, which had the soldiers on board, overfet, as soon as it entered the surf; the men, however, got safe to land; but they had not proceeded many yards, before they were attacked by the party of the enemy that lay there in ambush: they could not oppose much resistance to them, as their firelocks, and the greatest part of their ammunition, had been drenched in sea-water: the commanding officer, therefore, immediately ordered his detachment to retreat to the beach; but here they were again disappointed, for the affrighted natives, who had navigated the vessel in which they came, having recovered her, had put off from the shore again, and none of the others durst encounter the surf; so that, after having defended themselves for a short time, as well as they were able, several of them being killed, and many

wounded, the detachment was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the enemy.

The consequences of the ill success of this expedition, were considerably prejudicial to us.

The enemy obtained a fresh degree of courage, from the advantage they had gained over us in this action, and our people were not a little disheartened by it, as they had lost a considerable proportion of their small number of European troops, and were obliged by it to abandon *Cbit-tua* to its fate. That place surrendered, at length, by capitulation; and although it was upon condition that the garrison should not be made prisoners, but should be allowed to march out, and be conducted to *Cranganore*, the perfidious Mysorean abided not by his word, but after they were plundered of all they possessed, and stripped almost naked, he sent them in chains to *Calicut*, and farther up into his country.

The situation of our affairs, on the coast of Malabar, now became daily more critical and alarming. The enemy had now nothing more to do, than to storm *Cranganore*,

or

or to break through the *Travancore* lines, to be at hand to get footing on the island of *Baypin*, or even to attack *Cochin* itself; and the retrenchment which had been begun before *Cranganore* was not near completed, for want of labourers, who are here called *coolies**.

To this, add the intelligence, which Mr. MOENS received from good authority, that the nabob had caused a considerable part of his fleet, consisting of one three-mast ship, six two-mast grabs, and twenty well armed gallivats, to assemble at *Calicut*, with the intention of attempting to make a landing upon the island of *Baypin*, and thus to attack *Cranganore* on both sides, and to extend his depredations even to the gates of *Cochin*.

In order to guard, as much as possible, against the completion of this purpose, a schooner, which was the only vessel stationed by the Company on the coast, was placed as close as possible to the mouth of the river of *Cranganore*; and the ships, the *Hoolwerf* and

* *Coolies* are those natives who are employed in carrying of burthens, digging of trenches, and such laborious occupations; and who, supplying the place of pioneers, cannot be dispensed with in the operations of military tactics in *Hindoostan*. S.

the *Honcoop*, were stationed a little farther to seaward, at a middling distance from each other, in order to cover the coast, and at the same time to be near enough to join their force; upon the appearance of the enemy's fleet, in order to oppose any landing that might be attempted.

In the mean time, the retrenchments before *Cranganore* were carried on with the utmost diligence; yet, for want of proper workpeople, they were not completed till the end of December, when, however, every thing was prepared, as well as circumstances would admit of, as well for defensive, as for offensive operations. But matters remained in this situation; for Mr. MOENS wisely considered, that if once the Company acted offensively, all means of amicable accommodation would be entirely cut off, and they would be involved in an open war, from which it might not be so easy to disengage themselves, and which would, at all events, be a source of heavy expence, and run their possessions on the coast of *Malabar* still more in arrear. The enemy now continued quiet in *Paponetty*, and seemed to wish for nothing more than the trifling mortgaged

mortgaged districts which had formed the bone of contention ; while a communication still, in some measure, kept up with HYDER ALI, had been the means of keeping alive the hopes of a pacific termination to these menacing events.

Moreover, if our people had acted offensively, they would have had to attack the enemy in a woody country, where they might wait for us with advantage, and in case of discomfiture, the retreat would be difficult. The loss of the Ceylon reinforcement would have been irreparable ; and although a detachment of two hundred sepoy, sent from *Coromandel* over land had reached *Cochin* in safety, in the latter end of December, Mr. MOENS was induced, by the abovementioned motives, to act, for the present, merely upon the defensive, in the hopes that the ship that was daily expected from *Batavia*, would bring the long-expected answer, and counter-presents, from the government there, to the nabob of *Mysore*.

In order, however, to make a trial of the real disposition of the kings of *Travancore* and *Cochin*, by making them believe that

he seriously intended to undertake the prosecution of the war, Mr. MOENS sent to them to inform them, that having, on his part, got every thing in readiness to act offensively against the common enemy, he now required of them a categorical answer, in how far he could depend upon their succours, and at the same time, wishing to form a plan, in concert with them, for the commencement of their combined operations.

Upon this, he received from *Travancore* just such an answer as he expected, in consequence of the secret informations which he had before obtained, at no little expence, of what was passing at the court of that prince ; it was to the following effect ; namely, that the king of *Travancore*, had entered into an alliance with the nabob of *Arcot*, by which it had been stipulated, that if he, the king of *Travancore*, were attacked in his own dominions by HYDER ALI, that then the nabob of *Arcot* would come to his assistance, but that if he were himself the aggressor, he was not then to expect the slightest degree of succour ; and that, as HYDER ALI had not yet actually committed hostilities

hostilities upon his territories, his hands were bound from acting any otherwise than merely defensively. Hence it appeared that the liberal promises, made by the king of *Travancore*, that he would join all his forces to our's as soon as we were in readiness, were never intended to be performed, and came to nothing; and it may be inferred, that he had no other object in view, in making them, than to encourage the Company to involve themselves in difficulties, and to keep himself entirely out of the scrape.

It was not the king of *Travancore* alone who wished for the humiliation of the Company, but the English were likewise animated with the same invidious desires; and although it would have been diametrically opposite to their interest, that the power of HYDER ALI should be augmented, yet they would have rejoiced to see the annihilation of our's on the coast of *Malabar*.

A well authenticated anecdote confirms the opinion of their inimical disposition towards us: the chief of *Ansjengo*, conversing on the subject of the disputes which had arisen between our Company and HYDER

ALI,

ALI, expressed himself in a manner which clearly evinced his satisfaction, at the unfavourable posture which our affairs had taken; "adding, let HYDER ALI take *Cochim* away from them, it will not be long before we shall take it back from him."

The chief of *Tellicherry* too, as soon as he understood that the enemy had taken *Paponetty*, allured the different vessels, that were annually accustomed to resort to *Cochim*, for the purposes of trade, to his settlement, pretending that *Cochim* was invested both by sea and by land; he even wrote a letter to Mr. MOENS, by which he offered to take under his safeguard, at *Tellicherry*, the goods and effects of the Company, with assurances, upon his word of honour, that, both with respect to the housing, and to the disposal of articles of merchandise, the same care and diligence should be employed, as if they belonged to the English.

But Mr. MOENS, well informed of his underhand dealings, wrote in reply, that matters, far from being come to that extremity, were still in such a situation, that the operations of trade were pursued without interruption, and the road was protected by
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the Company's ships, and that he therefore begged leave to decline his friendly offer: at the same time he secretly caused information to be given to such vessels as had run in there, that they might safely come to *Cochim*, without any apprehension; and this had the effect, that they all immediately left *Tellicherry* and sailed to *Cochim*, where they disposed of their goods, and were supplied with the articles they wanted, as usual.

At length, the *Groenendaal*, the long-wished-for ship from *Batavia*, appeared, and cast anchor in the road of *Cochim*, on the 9th of January, 1777, having on board an answer from the supreme government to the letter of HYDER ALI, with the presents accompanying it.

Mr. MOENS and his council, nevertheless, deliberated, whether they should now send these dispatches to the nabob, on account of the hostilities which he had already committed, or not: after mature consideration, however, the first was unanimously resolved on, because that by this means, if the nabob really sought peace, it must immediately appear. Mr. MOENS added a letter from himself, which principally contained
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the reasons of the long delay of the letter and presents.

After the lapse of some weeks, HYDER ALI, who had now marched higher up in the peninsula against the Marattas, with whom he was equally at war, wrote a letter to Mr. MOENS, and sent back the people who had been taken prisoners at *Chittua*, providing them with provisions, and paying their expences as far as *Cochim*, retaining, however, those who had taken service with him; he took no notice in that letter of the presents which had been sent to him, although, in all probability, he well knew that they were on the road to him; but he wrote that the disputes which had arisen between him and the Company, were occasioned by misunderstanding; that he had indeed sent a general and some troops into the sandy country, but it was only for the purpose of seeking after the lands which had belonged to the kingdom of the samorin; that our people had shot first; that he had dispatched two messengers to Mr. MOENS, to adjust the differences, but that they had been refused to be received; with several other feigned subjects of complaint, and unfounded allegations,

allegations, by which he endeavoured to exculpate himself, and to throw the whole blame of the rupture upon the Company; he concluded, however, by offering them his friendship, and manifested a desire of accommodating matters.

Upon this, Mr. MOENS replied to him, that nothing was more agreeable to the Company, than to maintain their relations of amity with the princes in the neighbourhood of their establishments; that they especially wished to preserve the friendship and good-will of a powerful prince like him, with whom they had never before had any misunderstanding; and that, in order to re-establish a peace, and to remove all the subjects of dispute which had arisen between them, he left it to the choice of the nabob, whether his highness chose to send his *vakeels* * to *Cochin*, or whether Mr. MOENS should send persons to treat with the nabob at his own court.

When I left *Cochin*, on the 24th of April, 1777, no answer had yet come to this last letter, but it was expected to arrive every day.

* *Vakeel*, an agent, minister, or ambassador from a Moorish prince. T.

The probable causes of the pacific disposition which now appeared in the nabob, were the following :

First, the open war in which he was engaged with the Marattas, who were endeavouring to reinstate, in the possession of their dominions, those princes, who had formerly been tributary to them, and had now been dispossessed by HYDER ALI.

Next, the assembling of the *nairs* of the samorin, in the mountains, in order to restore their prince, who had fled for refuge to the king of *Travancore*, to his dominions; to which likewise conduced, that the chief of the Moors, who constituted almost the half of the subjects of the samorin, and whom HYDER had left in his office, upon his paying a large sum of consideration-money, had now revolted from the conqueror, and had gone over, with his people, to the mountains, where he had joined the *nairs*.

Lastly, HYDER saw that the fortifications we had made at *Cranganore* and *Aycotte*, together with the *Travancore* lines, were of such a nature, that he could not attack them with much hopes of success; and, consequently,

quently, not penetrating to *Cochim*, that he could not prescribe his own terms to the Company.

I have before hinted, that the principal object of our Company, in expelling the Portuguese from this coast, was in order to become possessed of the pepper-trade, exclusively of all others; to which, perhaps, other reasons of political expediency might be added.

They, however, early met with much disappointment on this head, both by the bad faith of the Malabar princes, and by the constantly encreasing competition of European rivals, who adopted a surer mode of obtaining as much pepper as they wanted, by always following the marketprice, or even paying something above it, while our Company continually insisted upon the performance of the contracts, that no pepper should be furnished to any others, although a fixed price was never stated in them, and they only speak of the marketprice, as the rule to go by *.

* *Secret Considerations of the Commandant DE JONG*, of the 25th of October, 1757. S.

The selling of pepper to other nations was stigmatized as a contraband trade, which ought to be put a stop to by compulsion, if other means were not sufficient; and force was resorted to at different times for that purpose; but these attempts were as little productive of the effects proposed, as they were expensive; for the princes themselves were not able to restrain their subjects from carrying on this trade with other nations, by which they made double the advantage that they did in selling to us*.

By all these vicissitudes and occurrences, the Malabar coast has been rendered, from the period that it was conquered, to a few years ago, one of the heaviest burthens of the Company in India; and this it was that made the governor general, MOSSEL, addressing himself to the director general, GOLONESSE, who maintained that the *Malabar*, where he had long been stationed as commandant, was one of the most important possessions of the Company, use these words: “ I am so far from being of your opinion, that I rather wish that the ocean had

* *Secret Considerations of the Commandant DE JONG, of the 25th of October, 1757. S.*

“ swallowed

“swallowed up the coast of *Malabar* an
“hundred years ago*.”

The observations of Mr. MOSSEL on the state of the *Malabar* coast, need only be attentively perused to obtain a conviction of the great detriment which our establishments upon it have already been to the Company; they have not so much been intrinsically prejudicial as baneful, on account of the continual disputes and wars which we have been engaged in with the native princes, and not a little by the infidelity and peculation of the servants who have been employed here†.

Since

* *Histoire Philosophique et Politique de l'Abbé RAYNAL*. Tom. I. p. 261. Edition de la Haye, 1774. S.

Mr. RAYNAL, in this place, gives an opinion, in a note, that the establishments of the Dutch on the coast of *Malabar* might, by a more enlarged commercial policy, be rendered of benefit to whoever possessed the mastery of the pepper trade from *Java*, *Sumatra* and *Borneo*; “for this purpose, it would
“merely be requisite to purchase the pepper on the coast of
“*Malabar*, at an advanced price, say one that would compel
“other nations to abandon the trade; the benefits which
“would accrue upon the immense quantities of pepper furnished at a very low rate, by those more eastern possessions,
“would more than compensate for the sacrifice recommended;
“and, by this operation, the exclusive commerce might be obtained of a spice which has now become an article of universal consumption in most parts of the globe.” T.

† Mr. MOSSEL, however, was of opinion, that, by a better
VOL. III. T management,

Since the accommodation of the last differences respecting the *famorin*, the *Malabar* has, however, again begun to make a tolerable figure in the Company's statements; we do not mean to take into consideration the sum written off in the year 1767, to make good the deficiency occasioned by the infidelity of the persons employed; the balance, closed on the 31st of August, 1771, shews, that the expences of the *Malabar* had amounted in the book-year, 1770-1771, to

management, the *Malabar* might be rendered a profitable possession to the Dutch; not so much by the pepper trade, as by the gains upon the spices, sugar, arrack, and Japan copper, which may be disposed of here. He supposes that the profits upon these might annually be £250,000, and the charges of the whole £232,000, or £18,000 (about £6,636 sterling) less than the gains; to which is to be added, what might be gained upon the pepper: in 1778, 1,000,000 *lbs.* of pepper, from the coast of *Malabar*, were sold in *Holland*, at 17 stivers (nearly 1*l.* 7*d.*) per pound; the purchase-cost on the coast, is, by the treaties, from four to five stivers per pound: the pepper, however, must then be sent to *Ceylon*, and thence conveyed to Europe, whereby much expence is incurred, but not so much as not to leave a considerable profit. Mr. Mosser's calculation of the charges is, however, made upon the supposition that the Company's establishment on the *Malabar* coast, amounts to no more than 300 or 400 persons, and we have before seen, page 233, that in 1776-1777, there were 867 Europeans, and 405 natives, in the Company's service here. T.

f.205,570.

f.205,570. 17.; and, on the other hand, the profits amounted to f.325,687. 17. 8, leaving a handsome advance upon the whole of f.120,117. 0. 8 *; and these profits would, under the disinterested administration of Governor MOENS, have been larger, had not the unhappy disputes, which I have before detailed, been the means of greatly augmenting the charges †.

The articles which are of the most current vent, of those sent hither by the Company, are cloves, nutmegs, and mace; but the least part of them is consumed on the coast, for a much more considerable quantity is exported by country-vessels, who trade hither from the northern parts of the Arabian sea, *Muscat*, and the gulph of *Persia*, where such an advance upon the prices is

* About £.10,920 sterling. T.

† In the year 1779, however, the charges of the *Malabar* establishment were f.489,645, while the profits amounted together to no more than f.414,977, or f.74,668 (about £.6,606 sterling) less than the charges, exclusive of the expences of the conveyance from *Batavia* of the articles sold. Besides pepper, some cardemom, and cassia lignea, is furnished for Europe from the *Malabar*; and a considerable number of slaves are yearly sent, in private trade, to *Batavia*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*. T.

obtained, as defrays the charges and risk of conveyance ; these vessels bring, on the other hand, capok, which is disposed of to advantage at *Cochim*.

CHAPTER XV.

Further Stay on the Coast.—Departure from COCHIM.—Passage through the Channel of MALALA.—A lunar Eclipse.—Singular Whiteness observed in the Seawater—Seen by other Navigators.—Account of a similar Phenomenon from VALENTYN.—Description of a curious Species of Shellfish.—Of Insects in the Sea occasioning a luminous Appearance.—View of Cape ST. JOHN.—Arrival at SURAT.—Changes that had taken Place there.—Termination of the War between the Marattas and the English.—Optional Cession of SALSETTE to the latter.—Repented of by the former—Who complain of ill Faith in the English.

THE ship *Ouwerkerk* having undergone some necessary repairs, and taken in water for the prosecution of her voyage, was in readiness to sail on the 26th of December; but the constant apprehension that the fleet of the nabob would make an attempt to effect a landing on the island of *Baypin*, made the government at the *Malabar* determine to keep the ship still on the coast, till a two-mast bark, expected from *Ceylon*, or the ship

from *Batavia*, should arrive. I received orders to sail with the *Ouwerkerk* to before *Aycotte*, there to relieve the ship *Hoolwerf* (whose cargo, if she staid longer, would have been subject to be spoiled), to remain there till further orders; and, in case any hostile vessels should appear, to use my best endeavours to resist and prevent the execution of their designs.

I remained at anchor there till the 9th of January, 1777, when I received my dispatches on board, with permission to pursue my voyage to *Surat*, upon which I immediately weighed anchor, and set sail; but I was obliged, by contrary wind and stream, to anchor again at sunset. In the mean time the ship, *Hoolwerf*, replaced mine in the station before *Aycotte*, and the *Groenendaal*, which had left *Batavia* on the 20th of November, and had arrived the day I received permission to depart, lay at anchor before *Cochim*.

About midnight, when the land-wind began to blow, we again got under sail, steering for the channel of *Mamala*, intending to run through it between the *Laquediva* and the *Maldivé* islands, and to pursue our voyage
to

to *Surat* to the westward of the former. Although this was a circuitous route, as the northeasterly winds blew strong, yet there was no other means of fulfilling the object of our voyage, for we were commanded by our instructions from the government at *Batavia*, to keep out of sight of the land, on account of the Maratta fleet, till we were in the latitude of Cape *St. John*, and we could not, therefore, avail of the usual alternate sea and land winds, which do not blow far out at sea, and with the assistance whereof we might otherwise have effected the passage with great quickness.

For the first eight days, we met with very strong currents, which set us sometimes to the north, and sometimes to the south, without that we discovered either the islands on one hand, or those on the other. On the 18th of January, we perceived but a very feeble current, and by the encreasing north-westerly variation of the compass, we computed that we had already passed the westernmost of the *Laquediva* islands; we then steered as high up to the N.W. as the scantiness of the wind would allow, in order to get into higher latitudes.

On the 23d, we saw another eclipse of the moon. Full one-half of the planet was obscured, on its south side; the beginning could not be observed, by reason of the haziness of the weather.

On the 30th, we met, at night, with a very singular appearance in the colour of the sea. It assumed so great a degree of whiteness, that it was perfectly like milk. During the day, we had observed that the water was darker and browner than usual, and had lost that azure clearness which it almost always has in the open sea: in proportion as the evening twilight diminished, it became whiter, and increased gradually in whiteness till nine o'clock, when it was so white, that the whole sea appeared as if covered with a white sheet, or exactly like the appearance, in the night-time, of a flat country overspread with snow. The horizon was not distinguishable, except to the north-west, where the line of distinction between the sea and the sky was discernable, from the latter being somewhat dark and gloomy. This phenomenon was entirely distinct from the luminous appearance, which is frequently observed in the water of the ocean, as, instead

stead of giving any light, the whole was of a deadly paleness, excepting close to the vessel, where it seemed mixed with some sparks of light. While it was at the strongest, I had the lead cast several times, but we found no ground with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms. I had some of the water taken up, and examined it directly with the microscope, but could not see any thing in it, with a glass of the greatest magnifying powers; to the naked eye, it appeared as clear as crystal; and, on tasting it, it seemed to have lost something of its briny and bituminous taste.

The same appearance was observed by the English captain NEWLAND, in the same part of the ocean, with the difference, however, that he saw it intermixed with black stripes running in a serpentine direction through the whiteness, which I did not see in it. He likewise discovered animalculæ in it, by putting a glass, with some of the water, in a dark place, and holding his hand close over it*; but neither did I observe any thing of this kind, although I likewise filled

* See *Hedendaagse Vaderlandsche Letteroeffeningen* (a Dutch periodical publication), vol. iii. no. V. art. *Miscellanies*, page 204. S.

a glafs with the water, and put it in a dark place, but without holding my hand over it.

The account given of this phenomenon by Mr. NUBURK, volume ii, page 84 and 85, agrees perfectly with the above.

About midnight, when the moon rofe, the water refumed, by degrees, its former dusky colour, and on the following morning it appeared the fame as the day before.

We were then, by estimation, fixty leagues from the coast of *Arabia Felix*, which was the neareft land. Our north latitude was 16° , and our compaffes fhewed a northwesterly variation of five degrees.

We had a light breeze of wind, chiefly from the northeaft, varying, however, from E.N.E. to N.N.E.; the thermometer flood at 72° ; the fky was, in general, flightly clouded; and the ftars were vifible: I had no reafon to fuppofe that the moon had any influence upon this phenomenon, or had contributed to it, it having been in the quarter the day before; and the more, as we did not difcover any ftrong current.

I remember to have read fomewhere in VALENTYN, that this fame appearance is alfo fometimes obferved in the feas between

Amboyna

Amboyna and *Banda**; but I am well assured that it could never be more distinctly seen than when I observed it.

On

* It appears from VALENTYN, that this phenomenon, which he calls *Det witwater* (the white water), occurs twice every year in the seas around *Banda*; the first time, when it is denominated the little *witwater*, it takes place at the new moon, in June; it is but slight in July, but does not entirely subside before the same appearance occurs again at the new moon in August, when it is called the great *witwater*. In the day-time, the sea appears as usual; but in the night, it assumes a milkwhite hue, and the reflection of it in the air is so great, that the sky cannot be distinguished from the water. Land is very easily discerned by night, in it, for the land appears very black in the middle of the whiteness. Very little fish is caught during the time that it lasts, but afterwards so much the more; the fish do not like the water, and the clearness of it makes them easily see the fishing-tackle and boats, and consequently avoid them. It has likewise been observed to rot the bottoms of vessels which lie much in it. It throws up, on the shores where it reaches, a great deal of slime, and filth, and likewise different species of blubber or *mollusca*, *bezaantjes* (*holothuria physalis*, or Portuguese men-of-war), &c. It is dangerous for small vessels to be at sea in the night, where it comes, as, though it may be calm, the sea always rolls with heavy surges, enough to overset small vessels; and it seems as if they were occasioned by subaqueous exhalations pressing upwards for a vent. It is chiefly seen between *Banda*, and the southeastern islands, to the southward of the islands of *Aroe* and the *Keys*, down to *Tenimber*, where the heaviest rolling of the sea is observed, and *Timor-Laut*; it runs westward as far as *Timor*; and to the north, it is met with on the south coast of *Ceram*, keeping, however, to the

On the following evening, and part of the night, we saw this phenomenon again, the south of the *Uliassers* and *Ambogna*, where it appears in large stripes. This milk-sea, as VALENTYN emphatically calls it, is clearly seen in the night, from the hills *at Ambogna*, stretching towards *Banda*; for at *Ambogna* itself, it does not properly occur, having only been known once to have reached that island, namely, in 1656. When it begins to abate, it runs along the islands of *Omo*, and *Ende*, or *Floris*, and finally, in stripes as far as *Bouton*, and even to *Saley*, and the coast of *Celebes*, where it gradually loses itself in the other seawater, or mixes with it. The more tempestuous the weather proves, the more it rains, and the harder the southeast tradewind blows, the more this white water is seen. It is entirely unknown whence it proceeds; but it has generally been supposed to come from the gulph of *Carpentaria*. Some have considered the whiteness as occasioned by myriads of animalculæ; and others have ascribed it to a subtle, sulphureous, marine exhalation, which they have supposed to arise from the bottom of the sea, and to become condensed in the water. But though brimstone be produced in considerable quantities, at *Ambogna* and *Banda*, and likewise upon *Nila*, *Teewwer*, *Dammer* (three islands, south of the two former, and between them and *Timor*, little known to any but the Dutch), and elsewhere in these parts, yet, says VALENTYN, if the white water were caused by that circumstance, it would be observed, wherever sulphur is found in large quantities: but, unable to assign any other reason, he leaves the solution of this phenomenon to be determined by future discoverers and naturalists. He likewise says, it has been observed at the *Mayotte* or *Comora* islands, to the northwestward of *Madagascar*, and between it and the main land of *Africa*. VALENTYN *Beschryving van Oost Indien*, vol. II. page 137 and 138, and vol. III. part 2, page 10 and 11. T.

and every night till the 3d of February, but in a flighter degree every succeeding time, and on the evening after that day, it was not visible at all; there was, however, a strong luminous appearance in the water; we were then, by estimation, thirty-five leagues from the nearest part of *Arabia Felix*, being in the north latitude of $17^{\circ} 30'$, and our compasses still shewing a northwesterly variation of five degrees.

During the time that we saw this white water, the sky was sometimes entirely clear, with a fine starlight down to the very horizon, and sometimes it was cloudy, and even quite overcast; so that it does not appear to me that the state of the weather had any influence upon it: the thermometer continued, for the most part, at the point at which it was the first evening.

On the 1st of February, and the day after, we took up out of the sea a kind of little shellfish, univalve and spiral, which floated on the surface of the water; the shell was of a beautiful azure colour beneath, gradually becoming lighter towards the opening; they were of various sizes, the largest being as big as a little garden-snail, and the smallest of
the

the size of a common perriwinkle ; the animal that inhabited the shell had the same spiral form ; but instead of the horny covering, or cap, that closes the opening of the perriwinkle, this animal had a large hollow bladder, perfectly white, and filled with air, about an inch and a half in length, and half an inch in thickness ; it was of an oval shape, and served to keep the little animal, with its fragile habitation, floating on the waves ; this membrane was attached to the fore part of the animal, and, upon being carefully separated from it, there appeared a little oval head, from which projected two little horns, like those which snails generally have. Upon being bruised, the animal yielded a beautiful purple liquor, which, when viewed in the microscope, had an appearance of very small animalculæ, of a vermicular shape, like those which are met with in stagnant rainwater, transparent, and comparable for size, or rather for minuteness, to the *trichoda*, or wheel insect. I evaporated this liquid, and obtained from it a dry powder, which, when rubbed down, and mixed with gum-water, made a beautiful purple paint.

I believe, as we were then not far from
the

the Gulph of *Arabia*, that these animals were driven by the currents out of the Red Sea, where, I think, they are met with.

To several of these shells adhered a number of very minute muscles, of the same shape and appearance, as those which we vulgarly call longnecks, and which adhere to the bottoms of ships, or to timber that has been long in the water; some very small crabs likewise were seen upon the shells.

Although I had many times in vain examined the seawater, in order to discover what might be the cause of the luminous appearance which it sometimes assumes at night, I was fortunate enough, on the 10th of February, to discover in it those animals, whose rapidly varying and shooting motion, occasion, in my opinion, this circumstance. Their length was about two lines, and their breadth one line: they are flat, and perfectly transparent: the animal consisted of nine annulæ, or rings, the smallest of which was the head, out of which two little horns projected; the rings encreased in size and breadth to the ninth, or last, which alone made one-third of the whole length, and formed the posterior part of the animal; a gut, or duct,
ran

ran through the whole length, in the middle of the body, which was narrow at the head, but encreased in width till about the middle of the ninth division, where it spread out into many little branches : in the middle ~~of~~ this duct a substance appeared, which had a kind of peristaltic motion from behind to before, and which I looked upon as the *principium vite* of the animal : quite at the extremity of the ninth annula there were two small openings, round which four little legs, or arms, were discernible, and there appeared to be several more, but they were so very minute, that I cannot with certainty assert that there were more.

In the same water I also found an insect of the same size, which, when viewed by the glass, No. IV, had the same shape as that of which a drawing is given in Captain PHIPPS's Voyage to the North Pole, in plate XII, figure 2, and described under the name of sea-louse*.

We

* Fig 2, plate XII. in PHIPPS's Voyage, is *cancer nuxax, macrocours, articularis, pedibus quatuordecim simplicibus, laminis femorum sex posteriorum dilatatis subrotundo cordatis*. It is added, that this animal, which had not before been described, should be inserted in the *Systema Naturæ* near *cancer pulex*; it was taken in the trawl

We struggled with contrary winds till the 8th of February, before we could reach twenty degrees of north latitude; we then got better opportunities of gaining an easting, as the winds veered to N.N.E. and north, and when we were before the mouth of the Gulph of *Persia*, they even ran to N.W. and W.N.W. with which we pursued our voyage with tolerable success; on the 19th of that month, we struck soundings, for the first time, in forty-nine fathoms, black sandy clay, with small shells and gravel, and afterwards a greenish hard clay bottom, and on the 21st we let drop our anchor, at two o'clock, A.M. in twenty-one fathoms, as the current was against us.

At eight o'clock, when the stream had subsided, and the flood began to rise, we again got under sail, and at half past nine, we came in sight of the high land of Cape *St. John*, finding ourselves, by observation, at noon, twenty-nine leagues and a half more to the westward than by the ship's reckoning.

trawl near *Moffen* island. The *cancer pulex*, was taken up in the same trawl. It is singular that similar animals should be found to exist in the arctic and in the tropical seas. 7.

At three o'clock, P.M. when the flood had left us, and the wind became contrary, we anchored again, and so on, working up with the tides of flood, and lying over when the counter-stream began; we were, the following morning, before *Ternapour*; in the evening, we had passed the city of *Daman*; on the 23d, in the morning, we were beyond the little hill of *Balzany*; and, in the evening, in sight of the road of *Surat*.

We anchored there on the 24th of February, and having moored the ship at night, I went up to *Surat* on the following day, and reaching the town at four o'clock in the afternoon, I landed at the Dutch wharf, where I fixed my quarters in a house not far from it, which had been hired for me.

On my arrival, I found that many changes had taken place in our direction, since I had been here last. The late director, B——, had been recalled by the supreme government, and being fearful that, if he went to *Batavia*, he would there meet with his deserts, as he was perfectly conscious of his negligence, if not of his misconduct, in his administration, he resolved, as soon as Mr. VAN DE GRAAF, who had been appointed

pointed his successor in the directorship, arrived in an English ship from the *Malabar*, where he had been the second in command, to put himself under the protection of the English Company, and to take his passage to *Bombay*, by the same vessel that had brought Mr. VAN DE GRAAF.

Similar apprehensions were entertained by the second, Mr. S——, who equally, a few days afterwards, sought the protection of the English; it was, however, only for one night, as on the following morning, Mr. VAN DE GRAAF succeeded in persuading him to return back to the Company.

On the 10th of March, a report was received here that the nabob of *Myssore*, HYDER ALI, had obtained a signal victory over the Marattas, in which that nation were said to have lost full forty thousand men killed on the field of battle, and that the victor had advanced, with his army, within twentycols of *Poonah*; but no confirmation was received of this news before my departure.

The war between the Marattas and the English, of which I have before made mention, had been terminated the preceding

year, by a treaty of peace, by which no adequate advantages were obtained, on the part of the English, in the proportion that might naturally be expected from their conquests and successes. This has even laid the foundation of a renewal of hostilities.

The last article contains a cession, by the Marattas, to the English Company, of the island of *Salsette*, near *Bombay* (the possession of which is the main spring upon which the welfare of the English Company, on this coast, turns, both because the island is only separated from *Bombay* by a narrow river, and because, being very fertile, it is considered as the granary of that establishment), with a clause, that if the English Company did not prefer this place, they should have the option of a district in the *Baroche* country, yielding an annual revenue of three lacks of rupees. The choice was not a matter of hesitation, or difficulty, to the English; they abided by the cession of *Salsette*. But in this, say the Marattas, the English, or rather the presidency of *Bengal*, to whom the ratification of the treaty, and the option contained in it, were referred, acted deceitfully; for they allege, that both parties
had

had agreed, by a secret article, that this optional cession should be made on the part of the Marattas merely to save appearances, and for the honour of the English Company, that they might have the name of making choice of one of the two, whilst, in the mean time, the English had solemnly promised that they would take the beforementioned district in the *Baroche* country, and restore *Salsette* to the Marattas. On this account, the Marattas would not suffer the English envoy to leave *Poonah*, and sent word to *Bombay*, that they insisted upon having *Salsette* restored to them, or else upon the war being renewed.

CHAPTER XVI.

Journey by Land from SUALLY to SURAT.—Tower of SUALLY.—Hackeries.—Sandhills.—Inlet of the Sea, called the Bason of SUALLY.—The Village.—Hospitable Conduct of the Persee Chief.—Departure from SURAT.—Arrival at COCHIM.—Departure again.—Doubling of Cape COMORIN.—Signs of Land.—View of the Islands of NASSAU—Account. of that, and other Islands on the west Coast of SUMATRA.—Arrival at BATAVIA.—The Ouwerkerk appointed to return to Europe.—Death of the Governor General, VAN RIEMSDYK, and Election of Mr. DE KLERK in his Stead—Resolutions taken by the Government at his Instance.—Death of the King of BANTAM, and Coronation of his Successor by a Deputy from BATAVIA.—Tour up the Country, and to the Seat of the Governor General.

ON the 23d of March, I went, early in the morning, on board of my ship, accompanied by the comptroller of equipment, BOELEN: the next day, leaving her again, we landed in the *Korry*-bay, just within the river's mouth, in order to go by land thence
to

to *Sually*, and further to *Surat* ; for that purpose, we had the day before given orders that five hackeries should be ready to receive us.

Before we got into them, we first went to see the tower of *Sually*, which serves as a beacon to make the road of *Surat*, and points out the anchoring-place.

It is erected upon one of the little sand-hills which lie about two miles from the banks of the river. It was built many years ago, as a tomb, over the grave of an English captain, who lies buried here ; it appeared to me to be between twenty-five and thirty feet in height, square, and covered at top with a cupola. As the entrance to it was shut, we could not take a view of the inside ; but I was told, that there was a pleasant apartment in the upper part of it, where the English sometimes met on parties of pleasure.

At half past six o'clock, we each got into a hackery, though there is sufficient room in one of these carriages for two persons : the other three were intended for our servants and baggage.

The weather was excessive hot that day, and we had nothing to shield us from the

scorching rays of an eastern sun, as these carriages had no kind of covering or awning; moreover, there was not the least breeze of wind, to mitigate the fervency of the air.

We first rode to the northeast, through a sandy and uncultivated plain, in which there was nothing to relieve the eye, but here and there a dwarfish, faded, and drooping bush or shrub. Having pursued this direction and road for about two hours, we then turned more to the northward and westward; here we rode across a valley, which appeared to me to bear all the signs of having formerly been the main bed of the river, or, at least, to have been a branch of it.

We then came again to some sandhills, from the tops of which we had a pleasant view of an arm or inlet of the sea, formerly called the *Basin of Sually*, and where it is said, our ships used to lie at anchor in former times*.

Upon these sandhills there was still one of the tombs of our people in existence; it stood upon four pillars, rising about twenty feet from

* In VALENTYN'S time, the ships that frequented the port of *Surat*, lay at anchor in the *Basin of Sually*, whence most goods were carried up to the city upon oxen. T.

the ground ; we could not discover by whom, or for whom, it was erected, as there was no inscription upon it. On an adjacent sandhill, were the ruins of another. Under the first, was a vault, in which we saw a great number of bones, and some pieces of wood.

About a quarter of an hour's walk from here lies the village of *Sually*, which we reached at half past twelve o'clock. It consists merely of forty or fifty houses, or huts, built under the shade of a grove of trees. All the inhabitants are Persees.

The chief of the village, called *Cattoual* by the Moors, and *Petil* by the Persees, received us at his house, with every mark of respect and hospitality ; he brought the water to wash us, and poured it upon our hands himself ; he brought us as much milk as we could drink, and saw us provided with whatever else we stood in need of.

This village, which, I reckon, lies three or four Dutch miles north or N.N.E. from the tower of *Sually*, is very populous for its small size ; and the great numbers of the children we saw, afforded proofs of the prolificness of the women, although it is frequently exposed to the incursions and ravages of the Coolies
and

and the Marattas, by whom they have latterly been twice plundered of their all, within the space of one year; and to these depredators they dare not offer any shew of resistance, which would cost them their lives as well as their property.

We stopped to rest ourselves here till half past three o'clock in the afternoon, when we again set out on our journey to *Surat*.

We travelled, as before, through a barren, sandy plain, without any trees or verdure: the heat was nearly intolerable, and we were deprived of the least air of wind: we were entirely exposed to the ardency of the sun, till five o'clock, when we came into a road, which was a little shaded, as far as the village of *Batta*. When we came to the riverside, opposite to *Attua*, we found a vessel lying ready to receive us, and to carry us up to the city, where we arrived at half past seven o'clock in the evening.

As soon as the bales of piecegoods were arrived from *Baroche*, in the beginning of the month of April, all expedition was used to hasten my departure, as the bad monsoon was at hand; and I had, besides, to touch at *Cochim*, to deliver there one lack of rupees, which

which I was to take with me from here. I shipped likewise one hundred Moors for *Batavia*.

I went on board, with my final dispatches, on the 7th of April, and, on the next day, we weighed anchor at four o'clock, P.M. and got under sail; we shortly afterwards passed *Cape St. John*, and got out to sea.

On the 15th, we had sight of *Cape Ramas*, a few leagues south of the Portuguese city of *Goa*; further we did not meet with any thing remarkable on the voyage, till on the 19th of that month we cast anchor before the city of *Cochim*.

I went on shore the day after my arrival, to pay my respects to Governor MOENS, in whose house I took up my residence, in consequence of his friendly offer.

Having landed here the hundred thousand rupees, and taken in a fresh supply of water, I urged my departure on account of the advanced state of the season. I received my dispatch on the 24th of April, and I immediately got under sail.

Since the 16th of this month, we had had, almost every evening, dreadful storms of thunder, lightning and rain; as is not unusual.

fual in these latitudes ; the lightning was so fierce, that the sky appeared in one blaze of fire ; they, however, were somewhat abated when we passed Cape *Comorin*, on the 27th of April. This bad weather was a prognostic of the approaching bad monsoon.

We took our departure from that promontory, being the last land which we should probably see, till we approached the west coast of *Sumatra*.

We first steered E.S.E. intending afterwards to bear away E. by S. or as much more south, or east, as would be necessary for us to pass the line in the longitude of 113° .

On the 9th of May, being, by computation, in longitude 106° , we met with much seaweed, pieces of bamboo, wood, branches and leaves of trees, &c. which were signs that we began to near the land ; although it afterwards appeared, that we were then still at a great distance from the west coast of *Sumatra*, which made me think, in the sequel, that all these might have come from the little island, which is laid down in the map of the Indian ocean, in longitude 105° , and which is called the *Low Island*. Upon meeting, however, with these signs of land,

we determined to pass the line as speedily as possible, in order, agreeable to the Company's sailing-orders, to make the island of *Good Fortune* *, as being bold and free from shoals; but we were deceived, for instead of sooner making *Sumatra*, it was not till the 25th of June that we got sight of the island *Nassau*: we had run down, with the northeast winds, into 8° , south latitude, where we drove about several days in calms; we then got the southeast winds, with which we sailed large till in 3° , and when we descried *Nassau*, we were, by the ship's reckoning, beyond the longitude of *Batavia*.

Our misreckoning, upon discovering the island of *Nassau*, we found to be $8^{\circ} 29'$, or one hundred twenty-seven and a half leagues of longitude; which great error we ascribed solely to the force of the currents setting to the westward, together with the frequent calms and light airs of wind, which had obstructed our real progress.

I regretted much my not having tables of

* One of the largest of the islands that lie parallel with the west coast of *Sumatra*; it is called *Pulo Porah* by the Malays, and is situated between the island *Mintaon*, or *MANTAWAYE*, and the *Poggee* or *Nassau* islands. T.

the distances of the sun and moon, by which I should soon have been enabled to discover this important error.

The island of *Nassau*, the largest of the range of islands that lie before the west coast of *Sumatra*, is middling high, although not mountainous, and in clear weather can be discerned at the distance of eight or nine leagues *. The southeast point, called *Fish-*
point,

* *Pulo Pogee*, or the *Nassau* islands, are two islands which are separated from each other by a narrow channel; the inhabitants of them, and of the island *Mantaw-ye*, are universally *rattowed* in the shape of birds and beasts, and their skin discoloured. Neither of the *Nassau* islands is the largest of the range: *Pulo Neas* has the greatest circumference; it is, except *Pulo Babe*, the northernmost, and is not far distant from *Natal*, on the coast of *Sumatra*, where there is an English settlement, and whence a great trade is carried on to the island of *Neas*: the articles received thence are rice and slaves, of the last not less than four hundred and fifty annually, besides about an hundred and fifty which go to the northern ports; in catching these unfortunate victims of the avarice of the chiefs, it is computed that no fewer than two hundred are killed, which together form a considerable number for such a country to supply. The people of *Neas* are small in their persons, of a fair complexion, particularly the women, who are mostly sent to *Batavia*; but a great proportion of both sexes are infected with a species of leprosy, which covers their bodies with white scurf, or scales, that render them loathsome to the sight; but this distemper, though disagreeable, does not appear immediately to affect the health, slaves, in that situation, being daily bought and sold for field and
other

point, runs out very low, and one or two leagues to the south of it, lie two small, and about four or five leagues farther, one somewhat larger, island; this last has, by some, been taken for the island *Met de Reeven*, or *Reef-island* *, which is an error that might have

other out-door work; it is communicated from parents to their offspring, but though hereditary, it is not contagious. Their ears are made to extend in so preposterous a manner, with an aperture large enough, in many instances, to admit the hand through, as often to be near touching their shoulders, though the purchasers of females sometimes get them trimmed to the natural size. These islanders are remarkable for their ingenuity in handicraft works; and, as an instance of their skill in the arts, they practice that of letting blood by cupping, in a manner peculiar to themselves, and similar to ours: their principal food is pork, and the chiefs make a practice of ornamenting their houses with the jaws of the hogs, as well as the skulls of the enemies, which they kill: they are revengeful in their tempers, and esteemed dangerous as domestic slaves, a defect in their character which philosophers will not hesitate to excuse in an independent people, torn by violence from their country and connexions. Earthquakes are frequent in *Sumatra*, and extend to these islands; in 1763 an entire village was swallowed up by an earthquake in that of *Neas*. T.

* *Pulo Mego*: this, with some other of these islands, are uninhabited, except by rats and squirrels, who feast upon the cocoanuts which are produced in them, without controul, unless disturbed by the crews of vessels from *Sumatra*, that go thither occasionally to collect cargoes of cocoanuts for market. All these small islands are skirted near the seabeach, with
cocoanuts.

have very dangerous consequences; the mistake, however, may easily be avoided

or

cocoanut-trees, growing so thick together, that they almost choke each other, whilst the interior parts are entirely free from them; this is occasioned by the accidental floating of the nuts to the shore, where they are planted by the hand of nature, shoot forth, and bear fruit, which falling, as it comes to maturity, springs up in like manner, and causes a successive reproduction. Mr. MARSDEN surmises that this chain of islands may, probably, have once formed a part of the main, and have been separated from it, either by some violent effort of nature, or by the gradual attrition of the sea. A circumstance presents itself on the coast of *Sumatra*, which affords some stronger colour of proof, than can be usually obtained in such instances. In many places, and particularly about *Pally* and *Laye*, detached pieces of land are observed standing singly, as islands, at the distance of one or two hundred yards from the shore, which were headlands of points running out into the sea, within the remembrance of the inhabitants. The tops continue covered with trees, or shrubs, but the sides are bare, abrupt, and perpendicular. The progress of insularisation here is obvious and incontrovertible; and the larger islands, at a greater distance, may have been formed, in the revolution of ages, by the same accidents. The probability is heightened by the direction of the islands, the similarity of soil and productions, and the regularity of soundings between them and the main, whilst without them, the depth is unfathomable. We have been particular in collecting information respecting this chain of islands, as they are but very little known to Europeans, and little is mentioned of them by any writers except MARSDEN, to whom we are chiefly indebted for these particulars. Of *Engane*, the southernmost of them, we have introduced a

curious

or discovered, for the latter lies in the south latitude of $3^{\circ} 55'$, and the former in $3^{\circ} 30'$; and when you are in sight of *Reef-island*, you cannot see any thing of the island *Nassau*, as I experienced myself in February, 1769; whilst, when near the other, you cannot fail to see the island of *Nassau*. I have distinguished this small deceitful island, in my ship's journal, by the appellation of *False Reef-island*.

We continued loitering within sight of *Nassau-island* till the 2d of July, when we lost sight of it, with a light gale of wind from the northwest.

On the same day we saw a great deal of filth floating in the water, which being viewed in the microscope, shewed merely like a collection of darkish spiral filaments, but we could not discover any signs of life in them.

On the morning of the 4th of July, at

curious account in chapter xi.; to this we may here add, that it is so little known, even to the very nearest inhabitants of *Sumatra*, that the people of *Lampoon* believed its inhabitants to be all females, who were impregnated by the wind, like themares in VIRGIL's georgics; and they styled them, in the Malay Language, *ana Saytan*, or imps of the devil. T.

daybreak, we saw the land of *Sumatra's* west coast, south of *Bencoolen*, and found, that in the few days since we had lost sight of the island *Nassau*, we had again been driven by the current eighteen leagues to the westward.

On the 9th, we at length entered the straits of *Sunda*; we anchored the following noon in the bay of *Anjer*; and on the 16th of July in the road of *Batavia*.

On my arrival here, I learnt that the ship *Ouwwerkerk* was appointed, by the government, to sail as a return-ship to Europe, in the first division of the homeward fleet; and Captain JOHN ABEL, of the ship *Vryberd*, (the *Liberty*) was afterwards appointed commodore of the fleet.

The most remarkable occurrence that took place, during my last residence at *Batavia*, was the death of the governor general, VAN RIEMSDYK, on the 3d of October.

On the following morning, at six o'clock, all the bells in the city were tolled for half an hour, as likewise at one o'clock in the afternoon, and five o'clock in the evening. This was repeated on the day of interment,
and

and the flags on the ships in the road were hoisted half-staff high.

At half past eight o'clock in the morning, all the members of the supreme government of India, who were present at *Batavia*, assembled together, and unanimously elected to the vacant office of governor general of the possessions of the United Provinces in India, the director general, REINIER DE KLERK *, and Mr. WILLIAM ARNOLD ALTING, of *Groningen*, to succeed him as director general. This nomination being effected, the keys of the castle, and of the city-gates, were presented to the new governor, who again put them into the hands of the chief of the military. In the same session of the assembly, it was

* Some particulars will be given in the appendix of the life of Governor DE KLERK, abstracted from ARY HUYSEN'S Biographical Account of this extraordinary character. He was a man, who, from the lowest station, that of a common sailor, arose by the progressive operation of merit, to the highest dignity in point of grandeur, and extent of power, in the Indies, and, perhaps, in the world. Like some of our own eastern great men, he performed the most eminent services for his employers, though sometimes at the expence of justice and humanity. T.

resolved, at the instance of the new governor :

I. That the Javanese princes and regents, who, according to ancient custom, were obliged to come to *Batavia* to do homage to the newly-elected governor general, should thenceforward be excused from doing so, as their coming to *Batavia* generally cost the Company an expence of a ton of gold *.

II. That, thenceforward, when the governor general was absent, the counsellor of India, who had the guard of the city, should give the parole.

III. That no counsellor of India, on meeting the governor general in his carriage, should, thenceforward, be obliged to stand still, till he had passed.

IV. That when the governor general en-

* *f.* 100,000, or about 9,090*l.* sterling. The chief of *Samarang*, however, was appointed to receive the homage of the Javanese regents, on the northeast coast. A political reason, likewise, concurred to occasion this resolution : *Batavia* was, at that time, but thinly inhabited, or garrisoned ; and as the native princes usually brought with them, on such occasions, a large number of followers, whilst the Javanese were always looked upon by the Dutch as a treacherous people, apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the city. *T.*

tered a church, during the performance of divine service, no person, either man or woman, should stand up, as had heretofore been required of them.

These resolutions being taken, the assembly broke up, and the newly-elected governor general was conducted to his country-seat, by all the members of the government in a body, where the ceremony of congratulation was performed; after which the new director general was equally accompanied to his house, by all the other members of the government.

A mourning for six weeks, for the deceased governor general, was directed, by an order of council, to be worn by all the qualified servants of the Company.

The body of the late governor, was conveyed, in the evening of that day, from his country-seat to the castle, and laid in state in one of the apartments of the government-house, which was hung with mourning on the occasion; a guard of halberdiers were placed over it, till the day of interment, when it was committed to the earth, in the Dutch church, and the obsequies were performed with great pomp.

On the 1st of August, the envoys from *Bantam* left *Batavia*, who had come in order to impart to the supreme government the death of their king; and to request that they would send a commissary to *Bantam*, with full powers to crown as king, in the room of his father, the prince who had been already chosen as successor to the empire, in the year 1768. To this commission was appointed the ordinary counsellor of India, Mr. HENRY BRETON, who sailed on the 22d of that month, with a second *Bantam* embassy, amongst whom was the *pangorang warin*, or prince prime minister, who had been dispatched for the purpose of accompanying the Dutch commissary. Mr. BRETON went by the ship *Concordia*, and was accompanied by a considerable suite of some of the higher qualified servants of the Company, who embarked partly on board of the ship *Hoolwerf*, that was equally going to *Bantam*. The coronation having taken place with great splendour, the commissary and his suite, accompanied by a fresh embassy from *Bantam*, returned to *Batavia*, on the 14th of September.

Not having any particular occupation at
Batavia,

Batavia, I went a tour for a few days up the country, and afterwards I went upon a visit to the country-seat of the governor general, DE KLERK, which is situated upon a little river, full two Dutch miles above the city. Around it, the agreeable shade of a number of ever-verdant trees sufficiently mitigate the rays of the sun, to give much pleasure in viewing the surrounding rice-plantations. The lands which belong to this seat, and which extend two Dutch miles farther upwards, are let by the proprietor, for the tenth part of their produce. Having taken a view of this district, and higher up, as far as *Pondong t-Jabe*, I returned to *Batavia*, in order to make preparations for my voyage to *Holland*: but before I proceed to relate the occurrences of my homeward passage, I will give a detail of further observations respecting the island of *Java*, and the city of *Batavia*.

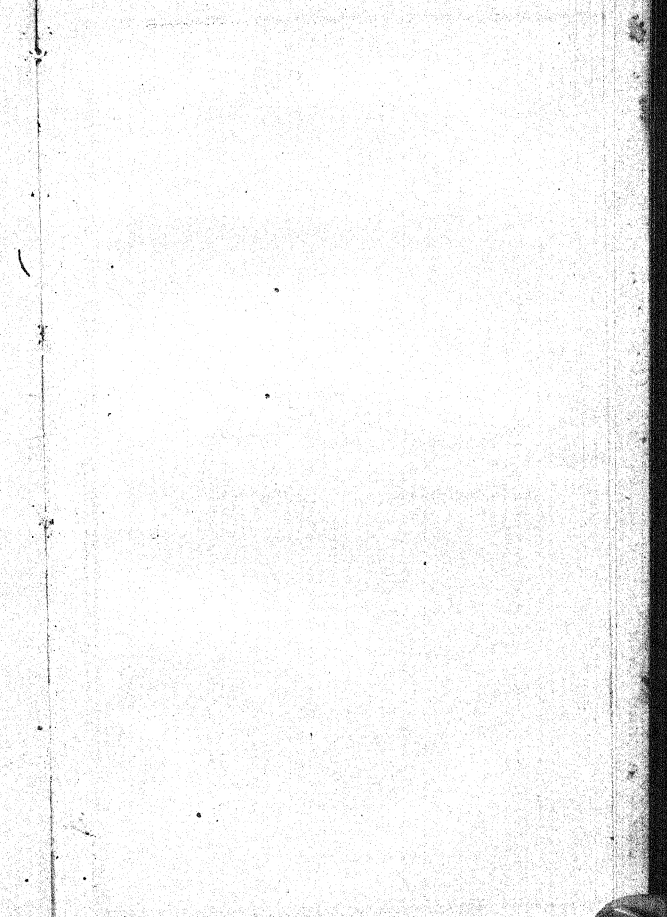
 BOOK IV.



CHAPTER I.

Situation of JAVA.—Face of the Country.—The North Coast.—The South Coast less known.—Weather.—Rivers.—Soil.—Agriculture.—Productions.—Rice.—Two Sorts, upland Rice, and lowland Rice.—Pepper.—Quantities furnished to the Company.—Sugar—Chiefly encouraged and manufactured in JACCATRA.—Number of Sugarmills.—Their estimated annual Income.—Sugarworks, and Method of making Sugar.—Different Qualities of it.—Coffee.—Quantities and Prices of it.—Cotton.—Quantities and Prices of Cotton-yarn.—Salt—An Article of Trade to SUMATRA.—Timber.—Large Forests.—Indigo—Quantities and Prices.—Other Articles.—Minerals.

IN my former voyage to *Batavia, Bantam,* and *Bengal*, I have made some mention of the island of *Java*, and devoted an entire book to detail and observations, respecting this excellent country, which may, with justice,



justice, be considered as the most precious jewel in the diadem of our Company. But as my plan did then not allow me to be very ample on this subject, I shall here enlarge, on such matters as I before slightly touched on, or communicate others to my readers which I then purposely omitted.

The island of *Java*, constituting, together with *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Celebes*, those four large islands, which were formerly known by the appellation of the *Sunda* islands, is the southernmost of them. According to the most recent and best observations, it is situated between $5^{\circ} 50'$ and $8^{\circ} 46'$ of south latitude, and extends from $120^{\circ} 5'$ to $129^{\circ} 50'$ longitude east of *Teneriffe*, thus full one hundred and eighty Dutch miles in length; and at the broadest part, from the point of *Coedoes*, near *Japara*, to the south coast of the province of *Mataram*, it is about six and thirty Dutch miles over. Its longest diameter lies in the direction of w. by $N.\frac{N}{S}$.N. and e. by $S.\frac{W}{S}$.s. To the east, it has the island of *Bali*, from which it is separated by a strait of the same name: to the north, it has the large island of *Borneo*, and those of *Billeton* and *Banca*, at the distance

tance of forty or forty-five leagues: to the northwest is *Sumatra*, from which it is divided by the straits of *Sunda*; these are no more than seven leagues over at the narrowest part, namely, from the *Varkens*, or *Hog-point*, to the opposite land of *Bantam*, and they are here still more contracted by the island *Dwars-in-den-weg*, or *Tbwart-the-way*, which lies in the middle of the passage: to the west and south, its shores are washed by the waves of the southern ocean.

A chain of high mountains, commencing to the east, in the province of *Balambouang*, and running through it to the westward, though gradually decreasing in height, divides this island, longitudinally, into two parts, of which the northern portion is the largest and the best. The north coast has almost every where a low and woody fore-land, although it has hills in some places, for instance, a little to the west of *Bantam*, where the high land stretches down to the sea coast.

The island has several deep inlets, or bays, on this north side, as those of *Bantam*, *Batavia*, *Cheribon*, *Samarang*, *Joana*, and *Sourabaya*, where there is every where
good

good anchorage, in little depths. Indeed, the whole coast affords both good anchoring-ground, and a safe road for the vessels that pass and repass, during the good or southeast monsoon; but in the bad monsoon, when the northwest wind blows in hard gales, and raises a high sea, it is dangerous to anchor near the coast, which is then almost every where a leeshore.

The south coasts of *Java* are much less known than the northside, for the Company have not hitherto taken much trouble to have them examined, so that the greatest part of what is known concerning them, is gathered from the scattered information of the navigators who have accidentally sailed along them, as I did from the 5th to the 15th of October, 1774, of which I have before given a detail*.

In

* In VALENTYN's map of *Java*, which contains five sheets and a half of large paper, the south coasts of *Java* are laid down, seemingly, with great accuracy; the appearance of the land is every where described, and the track of some navigator who coasted along it at a very short distance, from *Prince's-island* to *Balambouang*, with his soundings, anchorages, nature of the bottom, &c. is marked down in it; but it does not appear when, or by whom, this voyage was performed, though, from its direction, it appears probable that it was undertaken

In the good monsoon, the sky is here almost always clear, although sometimes in the evening a thunder-cloud comes down over the mountains: but this does not frequently happen, except near the time of the breaking up of the monsoon, when many and violent thunderstorms rapidly succeed each other.

In the bad monsoon, the then prevailing west winds bring with them heavy rains and violent thunderstorms; yet this makes but little alteration in the degrees of heat or cold; in the warmest part of the day, the thermometer generally stands at between 82° and 88° , and is seldom higher.

This degree of heat, if accompanied by a motionless state of the air, would, by continuance, become intolerable, but all-bountiful Nature has afforded her aid to the gasping inhabitants of this torrid clime, by the alternate land and sea breezes, which blow here every day, in regular rotation; and, if they do not wholly moderate the excessive heat,

taken by the command of the Company, for the express purpose of exploring the south side of *Java*. Comparing M. STAVORINUS's account of part of this coast, in chap. 3. of book I. with this map, they so far perfectly agree. T.

yet

yet they make it more supportable, and not very uncomfortable to those who have not to make any considerable stay here.

The weight of the air is nearly the same throughout the year; the barometer seldom varies more than two or three lines; but the air did not seem to me to possess so much elasticity as in the northern regions. Experiments in electricity, likewise, do not succeed here so well as in Europe.

Java is watered by a great number of rivers, which all descend from the chain of mountains that divides the island into two parts; but none of them are sufficiently navigable for ships, or large vessels, both on account of their insignificance, and of the bars which lie before their mouths, and upon most of which there is little more than one foot depth at low water. The most considerable, that I have seen, is that of *Joana*, together with the *Sedani* or *Tangerang*.

The soil is almost every where a reddish granulated clay, which, during the dry season, can be little tilled, by reason of its hardness, without a great deal of moistening.

The labour that is bestowed upon it, is
very

very trifling, in comparison with the bountiful fertility of the land in the production of various articles of necessity, luxury, and commercial importance.

Ploughing is performed here, as in most parts of India, with buffaloes, which are abundant. The plough consists of a beam, or pole, eight feet in length, to which, about three feet from the fore-end, is fixed a piece of wood, somewhat crooked, and sharp-pointed; this breaks the soil, which is afterwards turned over by a triangular iron coulter of upwards of nine inches in breadth. One or two buffaloes yoked to it, and a Chinese, or Javanese, who guides the plough, leisurely perform the work of tillage.

No manure is used for the land here, at least in as far as regards the fields employed in more extended purposes of agriculture; garden-grounds, however, are moistened with water in which oil-cakes have been soaked; which emits a most horrid excrementitious odour, but renders the soil rich and fat. The only trouble that is taken with the land of the farmer, consists in burning upon it all the weeds and rubbish which it produces; and when one piece of ground ceases to yield sufficient

sufficient crops, another is resorted to, and the first is suffered to lie fallow for several years, after which it becomes again fertile of itself.

The articles produced in the island of *Java*, are far greater in value than those of all the neighbouring countries: they chiefly consist of the following:

In the first place, rice: in the abundance, excellence, and flavour of which article of food, it excels all other countries; and it not only produces sufficient for the support of its own inhabitants, but also provides the eastern provinces and *Ceylon* with this grain. In my former voyage, I have given an account of this production, and it is therefore unnecessary that I should say much of it here. I will only add, that there are two species of it; one, which when planted, is set nearly under water, so that the tops just appear above the surface, as the rice-plants would otherwise die, or be destroyed; for being too weak to stand against the wind by itself, the plant stands in need of the surrounding water to support it. The other sort, which is planted in the rainy season, on high ground, and upon the mountains, receives
the

the moisture it requires, solely from the rains; but it is not so good as the former sort. The lowland rice is called *sarwa*, and is planted in May; while the upland rice, which is denominated *tipar*, is planted in November, and reaped in March; and these two crops bear some analogy to the winter and summer grain with us: the upland rice too does not yield so great an encrease as the other*.

* These two sorts of rice are always kept separate, and will not grow reciprocally. Mr. MARSDEN terms the upland rice *laddang*, and the lowland, *sawoor*. The former of these, he says, bears the higher price, being a whiter, heartier, and better flavoured grain, and having the advantage in point of keeping. The latter is much more prolific from the seed, and subject to less risk in the culture, but is of a watery substance, produces less encrease in boiling, and is subject to a swifter decay. It is, however, in more common use than the former. Besides this general distinction, the rice of each sort, particularly the upland, presents a variety of species. In general, it may be observed that the larger grained rice is the least esteemed, and the smaller and whiter the most prized. The upland sort is also called *paddee goenong*, or mountain-rice. It was one of the objects of our government in sending Captain BLIGH to the South Sea, to procure seeds of this mountain-rice; and notwithstanding the disasters befallen him, he obtained some from *Timor*, which were forwarded to his Majesty's botanic garden at *St. Vincent*, and to other parts of the West Indies, where we believe it is now cultivated with success. T.

In the second place, the pepper from *Java* is an article which, next to the finer spices, yields, perhaps, the greatest proportional advantage to the Company; for though there are more parts where it is produced, and whence it is brought into the Company's warehouses, namely, the coast of *Malabar*, the west coast of *Sumatra*, *Palembang*, and *Borneo*, yet the greatest quantity of what the Company receive, is produced in the country of *Bantam*, and its dependent provinces on the opposite coast of *Sumatra*, as appears from the following list of what pepper was received at *Batavia* and *Onrust*, in 1776-1777, viz.

		lb.
from <i>Bantam</i> and <i>Lamong</i> ,	- black pepper	3,714,000
	white ditto	15,000
from <i>Borneo</i> , - - - - -	black ditto	1,117,375
	white ditto	16,250
from <i>Palembang</i> , - - - - -	black ditto	497,507
from <i>Sumatra's</i> west coast, -	ditto ditto	1,119,436 *
from the province of <i>Jaccatra</i> ,	ditto ditto	1,900

The quantity of pepper sent in that year from the coast of *Malabar* to *Ceylon*, has not been

* The quantity of pepper produced in all the districts of *Sumatra*, under the controul of the English East-India Company, amounts, *communibus annis*, to twelve hundred tons, of which the greater part comes to Europe, and the remainder is sent to *China*. T.

exactly ascertained, but I think that it was about 1,500,000 pounds weight.

Sugar is a third article, and by far the chief produce of the province of *Jaccatra*; and although *Cheribon*, and the *northeast coast of Java*, annually produce considerable quantities of it, they cannot rival *Jaccatra* in this respect; and no wonder, for the culture of it was early cherished by the higher powers in *Jaccatra*. The cultivators of the sugarcane enjoy many exemptions in point of pecuniary imposts, and they have been encouraged by every means, not only by the government of *Batavia*, for to this there might have been particular motives, but likewise upon positive orders from the chamber of seventeen in Holland, under date the 20th of June, 1710.

On the other hand, the cultivation and manufacture of sugar has never been prosecuted with vigour, or suitably encouraged, on the *northeast coast*. The various plans of improvement, in this respect, which have been suggested, have never been made any use of; and the last, which was presented to the governor general, VAN DER PARRA, in the year 1774, by the resident of *Japara*,

Mr.

Mr. VAN DER BEKE, and which contained many very good things, was never taken any notice of. Nay, so far from any encouragement being held out, the importation of sugar at *Batavia*, from the *northeast coast of Java*, has been as good as interdicted to private merchants, by a heavy duty of one rupee per picol, which was solely laid upon it, in order to favour the sugarmills in the province of *Jaccatra* and the *Preanger* lands; and thus, the discountenancing of the manufacture of sugar in the other parts of *Java*, is, probably, the cause why the common *Java* sugar has never attained to be equal in quality to that of *Jaccatra*, the latter being much more substantial and better granulated.

In the year 1710, there were one hundred and thirty-one sugarmills in *Jaccatra*; their number, however, decreased considerably, before, during, and after, the war of *Java*, so that at the end of December, 1750, there were no more than seventy-seven left, of which only sixty-six were in a condition to work; these, with seven in the kingdom of *Bantam*, eight in that of *Cheribon*, and thirteen in the province of *Java's northeast coast*, made the number of sugarmills existing, at

that time, in the whole island of *Java*, one hundred and five. But, at present, 1777, there are still considerably fewer.

Mr. MOSSEL has made a calculation what profit these seventy-seven sugarmills, in the province of *Jaccatra*, might annually yield to their proprietors, or lessees : he reckoned that a yearly quantity of ten millions pounds weight of sugar might be produced by them, which he took at four rixdollars per picol, is - - - - - rixd. 320,000

and an equal quantity of molasses, from which afterwards, either an inferior sugar is made, or arrack distilled, at one rixdollar per picol, 80,000

together, rixdollars, 400,000*

The whole may be more amply seen by referring to his *Observations on the Sugarworks in the neighbourhood of Batavia, &c.* dated the 31st of December, 1750.

The sugarcane, which, in general, grows here very luxuriantly, is planted from September to April, and stands twelve or fifteen months in the field, according as the land

* Upwards of £.87,000 sterling, or nearly £.1,200 for each sugarmill. T.

be rich or poor, before it is cut. If the soil be good, and adapted to its cultivation, it can be cut four times; on some grounds less often, and on others only once.

The sugarworks here, are not near so well or so solidly constructed, as those which I have seen in the West-Indies. The cane is here bruised between two rollers, and is therefore twice put through before all the juice is expressed; the sugarmills in the West-Indies have three rollers, so that the same quantity of cane can be squeezed in half the time that is taken for it here: the latter mode, however, requires a proportional greater degree of strength; one or two buffaloes are here sufficient, but four horses are, at least, required there for turning the mills.

The juice is twice boiled, and afterwards put into pots, upon which a layer of clay, diluted with water, and kneaded into a paste, is laid, and it continues in this state for about twenty days, during which time the clay is once or twice renewed; and by this operation the sugar acquires a tolerable degree of whiteness; it is then set in the drying-place, which is a shed, covered with *atap*,

where it remains until it is perfectly dry, and the molasses have entirely trickled out of it, through an opening at the bottom.

When a sugarmill is in good condition, and has no want of workpeople, or of buffaloes, about fifteen thousand canes can be bruised every four-and-twenty hours; these yield from nine to eleven pots, containing each fifty pounds weight of sugar of the first and second qualities, twelve pounds of the third quality, and from sixteen to twenty pounds of molasses*.

Mr. MOSSEL calculated that all the canes which the sixty-seven sugarmills annually consumed, covered four thousand six hun-

* Many attempts have been made by the English, at *Bencoolen*, to bring to perfection the manufacture of sugar and arrack, from the canes abounding on the coast of *Sumatra*: but the expences, particularly of the slaves, were always found to exceed the advantages. When one time, however, the plantations and works were committed to the management of Mr. HENRY BOTHAM, it manifestly appeared that the end was to be obtained, by employing the Chinese in the works of the field, and allowing them a proportion of the produce, for their labour. The manufacture had arrived at a considerable extent, when the breaking out of the last war gave a check to its progress: but the path is pointed out, and is worth pursuing with vigour. The sums of money thrown into *Batavia*, for arrack and sugar, have been immense. T.

dred *morgen* (9,200 acres) of land, to which adding the same quantity of four thousand six hundred *morgen*, for pasture-ground for the buffaloes, and ten thousand *morgen* for wood for fuel, the whole extent of ground wanted for the prosecution of that manufacture, with that number of mills, would not amount to twenty thousand *morgen* (40,000 acres), which is but a small part of the province of *Jaccatra*, north of the mountains.

The first quality of the sugar differs only from the second and third by its greater whiteness. The first sort is that which is alone sent to Europe ; the second goes chiefly to the western parts of India ; and the third, which is the brownest, to *Japan*. There is likewise another sort, which is very brown, and much less dry ; it is called *dispens-sugar*, because it is mostly delivered by the *dispensiers*, or purveyors, from the provision-warehouses of the Company, to be used on board of their ships *.

Coffee

* Dr. THUNBERG states, that, on board of the ship by which he went from *Batavia* to *Samarang*, they were furnished with very wretched, coarse, brown sugar, instead of white. When he remonstrated, in behalf of the sick, with the captain on

Coffee is likewise a product yielding much profit to *Java*, and great advantage to the Company. The cultivation of it is performed in the same manner as in the West-India islands. *Jaccatra* and *Cberibon* are the two districts where it is most vigourously prosecuted, though the article is equally grown on the *northeast coast of Java*. *Java*, where it is not indigenious, is indebted for this production to Mr. ZWAARDEKROON, who was governor general from the year 1718 to 1725, and who procured the coffee-plant from *Mocha*, and after paying a very high price for what was first produced (fifteen rixdollars per picol), he continued to encourage the cultivation of it by all the means in his power. His endeavours were so well seconded by his successors, that in the year 1753, 1,200,000 pounds weight of coffee were furnished from *Cberibon*, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{1000}$ stivers per pound; and full as much from *Jaccatra*, and the

the subject, his reply was, that it was not unusual for the ships to be supplied with brown and coarse sugar, instead of white sugar; and that the difference between the prices of these two sorts went into a common purse, for the benefit of the superintendants of the warehouses, where they were packed up. T,

Preanger lands, at $2\frac{1}{16}$ stivers per pound: and, in the sequel, the quantity produced grew so large, that, in the year 1768, the quantity of 4,465,500 pounds weight of coffee, was delivered to the Company from *Jaccatra* and the *Preanger* lands*, at the reduced rate, according to the best of my recollection, of four rixdollars per picol of one hundred and twenty-five pounds†, although the native cultivator must deliver one hundred and sixty pounds for a picol, which excedent in the weight is an emolument partly accruing to the commissary of inland affairs, and partly to the administrators in the warehouses.

But the reason why *Jaccatra* appears to furnish so large a proportion of coffee, is, that a considerable quantity of this produce that is grown in the parts of the province of *Che-ribon*, which are nearest to *Jaccatra*, come down through the lastmentioned country to *Batavia*; the income of the commissary for inland affairs is hereby greatly enhanced, and it is pretended, that it is more convenient to

* *Journals of the Council of India*, 30th December, 1768. S.

† Equal to about 14s. 5d. sterling per cwt. See note to page 233 of vol. 1. T.

the natives: it was the governor general VAN DER PARRA who settled it in this manner.

Cotton is likewise a production of *Java*. The shrub * that produces it, is cultivated in almost every part of the island by the natives; the kingdom of *Bantam*, however, excepted, where little of it is found; so that the yarn which is spun of it, in the province of *Cheribon*, and other parts, yields a considerable degree of gain, on being clandestinely imported into *Bantam*.

The Company, to whom the greatest part of it is delivered, pay for it, according to its qualities, forty-five, thirty-five, twenty-four, and less, rixdollars per picol, of one hundred and twenty-five pounds †.

Jaccatra and the *Preanger* lands furnished, in the year 1753, the quantity of about two hundred picols, or twenty-five thousand pounds of cotton-yarn; and in 1768, no more than 133 picols, or 16,225 pounds. The largest part of the cotton-yarn produced is sent to Holland; the rest is employed by the

* *Gossypium herbaceum*.

† Equal to the respective rates of $17\frac{1}{2}d.$ $13\frac{1}{2}d.$ and $9\frac{1}{4}d.$ sterling, per pound. T.

natives, in weaving of cloths for their own consumption.

Attempts have likewise been made to introduce the manufacture of cotton cloths, as an article of trade for the Company, and to supersede part of their large importations of the article from *Hindostan*, but, as it appears, with very little success hitherto.

Sixthly; *Java* yields to its possessors the article of salt, though it is not one of very extensive commercial importance. Most of it is brought from *Rembang*, where the Company purchase it at the rate of six rixdollars per five thousand pounds, and they export it to the west coast of *Sumatra*, where it is disposed of, generally, at the rate of between thirty and thirty-five rixdollars for three thousand pounds weight*.

In the seventh place, the *northeast coast*
of

* The purchase-price here stated, is equal to about 10s. 10d. sterling per ton English, and the selling-price from 91s. 8d. to 107s. per ton. The natives of the sea-coast of *Sumatra* exchange their benjamin and camphor for iron, steel, brasswire, and salt; of which last about one hundred thousand bamboos (gallons) are annually taken off in the bay of *Tappanooly* alone. These they barter again, with the more inland inhabitants, for the products and manufactures of the country, particularly their cotton cloths; of which article very little is imported;
and

of *Java*, and part of the district of *Cheribon*, furnish a very large quantity of timber, logs, beams, boards, knees, &c. which is not only

and the sale of piece-goods in the bay is very inconsiderable. Having no coin, all value is estimated among them by certain commodities. In trade, they calculate by *tampangs* (cakes) of benjamin; in transactions amongst themselves, more commonly by buffaloes: sometimes brasswire, and sometimes beads, are used as a medium. A *gallon*, or ring of brasswire, represents about the value of a dollar. But for small payments, salt is the most in use. A measure called a *jaloep*, weighing about two pounds, is equal to a *sanam*, or twopence halfpenny: a *ballee*, another smaller measure, goes for four *keppeng*, or three-fifths of a penny. The demand for salt is mostly supplied by cargoes imported, although in one of the earliest letters from *Beencoolen*, to the presidency of *Mudras*, it is mentioned that salt could not be disposed of as an article of trade; and they also manufacture it themselves; but their method is tedious. They kindle a fire close to the seabeach, and pour upon it seawater, by degrees. When this has been continued for a certain time, the water evaporating, and the salt being precipitated among the ashes, they gather these in baskets, or in funnels made of the bark or leaves of trees, and again pour seawater on them, till the particles of salt are well separated, and pass, with the water, into a vessel placed below to receive them. This water, now strongly impregnated, is boiled till the salt adheres, in a thick crust, to the bottom and sides of the vessel. In burning a square fathom of firewood, a skilful person procures about five gallons of salt. What is thus made has so considerable a mixture of the salt of the wood, that it soon dissolves, and cannot be carried far into the country. The coarsest grain is preferred. MARSDEN'S *Sumatra*, pages 153 and 307. T.

sufficient

sufficient for the wants of *Batavia*, for ship-building, the construction of houses, and domestic uses, but a very considerable quantity of it is annually exported to several of the out-factories, and, in particular, to the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The large forests which are met with in the above districts, belong to the Company; the natives are obliged to fell and prepare the timber, as a kind of feudal service, so that no other emolument is made by them, on this score, than the hire of the draft-oxen by which it is conveyed to the seashore; and this, together with the freight by sea, form the whole of the purchase-money and charges of the timber.

Those forests, however, begin at present to be considerably diminished; but it is in agitation to provide against the probable future want of timber, by new plantations.

Next, and as an eighth article, is reckoned that of indigo, which, although not an original production of *Java*, has been cultivated with tolerable success, since the Company have been established here; in so far, that, whereas formerly that article was obliged

obliged to be sent for from the empire of the great mogul, and special *firman*s were obtained with some difficulty for that purpose, as appears by the second article of the second *firman*, still preserved at *Surat*, which I have before detailed, that trade has now been abandoned in *Hindostan*, and instead of being purchasers, the Company have been able to be sellers of a considerable quantity of the article.

The Company pay for the first quality thirty stivers per pound, and in proportion for the second and third qualities. The indigo is sorted upon its delivery at *Batavia*, by a person specially appointed for that purpose. In the year 1768, *Jaccatra* furnished 2,875 pounds of indigo, though the inhabitants had been assessed at the quantity of 6,125 pounds.

Turmeric *, long pepper †, and cubebs ‡, are equally productions of *Java*; but the collection and exportation of these articles is not of great importance. The two last are most in demand for *Surat*.

* *Curcuma.* † *Piper longum.* ‡ *Piper cubeba.*

With minerals and metals *Java* is the least of all provided; as far as I know, none are met with, but a little iron ore and star-stones*, which is called, in the Malay tongue, or by the natives, *maasouron*.

* *Asterias*.

CHAPTER II.

Division of JAVA.—Its general Population.—BANTAM.—Boundaries.—Government.—Population.—Dependencies.—The Country of LAMPOON.—Establishment of the Company at BANTAM.—Expences.—Islands in the Straits of SUNDA, &c.—Peculiar Unhealthiness of BANTAM.—JACCATRA, and its PREANGER Lands.—Boundaries.—Population.—Administration.—Rivers.—The Mookervaat.—Canals and Drains cut by the Dutch.—Productions.—CHERIBON.—Boundaries.—Population.—Productions.—Establishment.—Expences and Profits.—The Empire of the SOESOEHOENAM.—Former Extent and Grandeur.—Present reduced Situation.—The Dominions of the Sultan.—Island of MADURA.—Titles of the reigning Soesoehoenam, and of the Sultan.—Political Relations of the Company with these Princes:

WHEN the Company first established themselves here, *Java* was divided into three large empires, namely, *Bantam*, *Jaccatra*, and the empire of the *Soesoehoenam*, which last was the most extensive, and comprehended full two-thirds of the whole island,

island, *Cberibon* being feudatory to it.—Times have now so far altered, that the island is at present divided into five states, or empires, which altogether contain one hundred and twenty-three provinces, or governments, amongst which the kingdom of *Bantam* is considered but as one.

Each province, or government, consists of a certain number of *tjatjars*, or families, the number of which, throughout the whole of *Java*, including *Bantam*, amounted, in the year 1777, to 152,014.

These are calculated, upon an average, throughout *Java*, to consist of two men, two women, and two children, forming, therefore, a population of . souls 912,084 *

but if to this we add the inhabitants of the principality of *Madura*, which, though a separate island, is always taken together with *Java*, and which contains ten thousand families, or . souls 60,000

the whole population of *Java* and *Madura*, will amount to . 972,084

* HUGGERS gives the population of *Java*, exclusive of *Madura*, as follows, viz.

assuredly a very slender number of inhabitants for such an extensive island. It was, however, formerly much more populous; but the long and bloody wars with which this country has been afflicted, for nearly a century and a half, before the Company succeeded in establishing themselves in that firm manner in which their power here is at present rooted; is sufficient to make us cease from being surprized, at the paucity of the number of the inhabitants of this extremely fertile island. The last war waged against the empire of the *soefoeboenam*, seems, in particular, to have produced a great degree of depopulation. According to the statement of the population, made in the year 1738, the number of families in

in the kingdom of <i>Bantam</i>	5,000	tjatjars, or families
in <i>Jaccatra</i>	33,914	ditto
in <i>Cberibon</i>	15,000	ditto
in the <i>Mataram</i> , or empire of <i>Java</i> proper	94,200	ditto

in all 148,114 families, reckoned at six individuals each, makes the whole number of inhabitants 888,684; but he adds in a note, that, according to more recent accounts, the population of *Java* is calculated at one million and a half, or two millions of people. These statements, however, do not include the inhabitants of *Batavia*. T.

the territories of the *soefoeboenam* alone, amounted to 309,700, or . souls 1,858,200 and at present (1777), the same lands, which were then under the dominion of the *soefoeboenam*, part of which are now, however, taken from him, contain no more than 118,100 families, or 708,600

1,149,600

making a difference of more than the half, which would appear to me too improbable to be believed, had I not had the inspection of the authentic documents relative thereto *.

The

* VALENTYN's statement of the population of *Java*, in his time, shews a still greater disproportion; his account, in which he takes every *tjatjar*, or family, at five persons only, gives—

in the kingdom of *Ban-*

tam, exclusive of the

city of *Bantam* . families 5,000, or persons 40,850

in *Jaccatra*, exclusive of

Batavia . . . ditto 19,390, or ditto 96,950

in *Cberibon* and its de-

pendencies . . . ditto 63,120, or ditto 305,600

in the countries belong-

ing to the emperor of

Mataram, or the *soe-*

foeboenam . . . ditto 483,570, or ditto 2,417,850

z z

in

The actual five divisions of *Java*, are : *Bantam*, *Jaccatra*, *Cberibon*, the empire of the *soefoeboenam*, and that of the *sultan*.

The kingdom of *Bantam*, which forms the western division of *Java*, is about one hundred Dutch miles in circumference, each being of twelve hundred Rhineland roods. The Indian ocean washes it on the south ; to the northwest and north it has the straits of *Sunda*, and the islands situated in them ; to the east, it is divided from the empire of *Jaccatra*, by a narrow slip of land, called *Greuding*, lying a little to the westward of the *Sedani*, or river of *Tangerang*, and by a chain of mountains, known by the name of *Goenong Tjeberum*, which terminate to the south in the bay of *Wynkoopfsbergen*.

in the county of *Balam-*

bouang, by a rough cal-

culatation, full . . families 50,000, or persons 300,000

and in the island of *Mu-*

dura about . . ditto 30,000, or ditto 150,000

total 3,311,250

A decrease in this island from upwards of three millions to less than one million of people, in about sixty years, is an amazing instance of the destructive agency of war. *T.*

Bantam

Bantam became strictly connected with the Company, in the year 1680, by means of the assistance afforded by them against Sultan AGON, who had formerly abdicated the throne, but who had resumed the sceptre again; his son solicited and obtained the aid of the Company, towards establishing him in the government. Yet the country remained, in a manner, independent, and its trade continued free; but upon this, encroachments were practised from time to time, and it was sought to draw the bands of connection with *Bantam* more close, by giving our assistance, towards reducing the revolted province of *Succadana*, in *Borneo*, which formerly belonged to *Bantam*, and is still an appendage of that kingdom *. At last, in 1751, *Bantam* became wholly a fief of the Company, occasioned by the fortunate issue of the commotions there; the king was then privately taken hold of, and continued a prisoner, while a prince of the

* *Succadana*, together with *Landak*, another province belonging to *Bantam* in the island of *Borneo*, were ceded, in property, to the Dutch Company, by the king of *Bantam*, in the year 1778, and taken possession of by them. See vol. i. page 343. T.

blood royal, who had been kept in exile at *Ceylon*, was exalted to the throne in his stead ; and a yearly tribute of one hundred bhars of pepper, amounting to thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds weight, is now paid to the Company from *Bantam*.

The rule of succession was, at the desire of the king, regulated by the Company, who choose and appoint the heir apparent to be hereditary prince, as was done in the year 1767 : this hereditary prince succeeded to his deceased father in the month of September, 1777, and was formally crowned as king of *Bantam*, by Mr. BRETON, the minister plenipotentiary deputed by the Company for that purpose, as I have related in the last chapter.

Although the sultan, or king, of *Bantam*, is a vassal of the Company, he is, nevertheless, a sovereign prince, lord and master of life and death, and uncontrouled in his authority over his own subjects ; he lays taxes, augments, or lightens, them, according to his own good pleasure ; and has all other regalia, and marks of sovereignty, appertaining to a free monarch, excepting that he is restricted from entering into any alliances,

or engagements, either with any European powers, or with the Indian princes; as likewise from selling any of the productions of his territories to any other than to the Company; and this restriction as to trade relates not only to his kingdom of *Bantam*, but also to the articles produced in his dependent provinces in *Borneo* and *Sumatra*; those in the lastmentioned island are the two *Lampoons*; distinguished into *Lampon Samanca* and *Lampon Toulang Bauwang* *.

Bantam

* The country of *Lampoon* begins on the west coast, at the river of *Padanggocchie*, which divides it from *Passumab*, and extends across the south extremity of *Sumatra*, as far as *Palemhang*, on the northeast side. On the south and east sides, it is washed by the sea, having several ports in the straits of *Sunda*, particularly *Keizers*, or *Emperors*, and *Lampoon* bays: and the great river *Toulang Bauwang* runs through the heart of it, rising from a considerable lake between the ranges of mountains. The country of *Lampoon* is best inhabited in the central and mountainous parts, where the people live independent, and, in some measure, secure from the inroads of their eastern neighbours, the Javans. It is probably within but a few centuries, that the southwest coast of this country has been the habitation of any considerable number of people; and it has been still less visited by strangers, owing to the unsheltered nature of the sea thereabouts, the want of soundings, in general, which render the navigation wild and dangerous for country-vessels, and to the rivers being small and rapid, with shallow bars, and almost continually a high surf. If you ask the *Lampoon* people of

Bantam has the smallest population of all the divisions of *Java*; its whole extent comprehends no more than five thousand *tjatjars*, or families, and, consequently, only thirty thousand inhabitants.

The Company keep in Fort *Speelwyck*, including the guard which is stationed at Fort *Diamond*, an establishment amounting in number, when complete, to three hundred men*.

The

these parts, where they originally came from, they answer, from the hills, and point out an inland place near the great lake, whence, they say, their forefathers emigrated; and further than this, it is impossible to trace. They, of all the *Sumatrans*, have the strongest resemblance to the Chinese, particularly in the roundness of the face, and construction of the eyes. They are also the fairest people of the island; and the women are the tallest, and esteemed the most handsome. Inland of *Samanca*, say the *Lampoons*, there is a district, inhabited by a ferocious people, who are a terror to the neighbouring country. Their mode of atoning for offences against their own community, is by bringing to their *doosoon*, or village, the heads of strangers. The account may be true; but without further authentication, such stories are not to be too implicitly credited, on the faith of a people who are fond of the marvellous, and addicted to exaggeration. MARSDEN'S *Sumatra*, page 262 and 264. T.

* In 1776-1777, the establishment of the Dutch Company at *Bantam*, consisted of twenty civil servants, one clergyman, five surgeons and assistants, seventeen belonging to the artillery, thirty seamen, 199 foldiers, and ten mechanics; in all 281 Europeans.

The air is, in general, here very unhealthy, and the mortality pretty considerable.

Europeans. On account of its vicinity to *Batavia*, no revenues, either territorial or commercial, are drawn from this place; but the charges of the establishment are not heavy; in 1779, they amounted to *f*.78,262 (about *£*.7,115. sterling), which is a very nothing in comparison with the benefit derived from the pepper furnished by *Bantam*. To the dominion of the king of *Bantam* belong all the islands in the straits of *Sunda*, from *Prince's-island* to *Pulo Babi*, or *Hog-island*, close to his capital city. Many of them are inhabited, and produce pepper; others are desert, or are the resort of pirates and smugglers, who are dexterous in carrying on an illicit trade in pepper with foreign nations. In November, 1769, the Dutch Company's cruising grab the *Zeeleeuw* (the Sea-lion), was attacked, taken, and the crew massacred, in the bay of *Lampoon*, by these pirates. The *Klapper*, or *Cocoa-islands*, which lie on the south coast of *Java*, near the straits of *Sunda*, are uninhabited, and are only occasionally resorted to for the sake of the edible birds'-nests which are found there; but they are said to be greatly infested with enormous snakes. *Prince's-island* is called, in the Malay language, *Pulo Selan*; and in the language of its inhabitants, *Pulo Paneitan*. It is woody, and a very small part of it only has been cleared. VALENTYN landed on it in 1694, and found it then uninhabited. He adds, that there is good anchorage in the southwest bay, in nine and ten fathoms, and two small freshwater rivulets running into it. Lieutenant COOK, in the *Endeavour*, lay ten days on the southeast side, in eighteen fathoms. There is a town upon it, called *Samadang*, of about four hundred houses, divided into two parts, by a river of brackish water. There is no remarkable hill upon it, yet the English call the highest eminence upon it, the Pike. It was formerly much frequented by the India ships of many nations,

able. In the year 1768, that is, from the beginning of September to the end of August,

tions, especially the English, which have, of late, forsaken it, as it is said, because the water is bad, and touch either at *North-island*, a small island that lies on the coast of *Sumatra*, at the east entrance of the straits, or at *New-bay*, which lies only a few leagues from *Prince's-island*, at neither of which places any considerable quantity of other refreshments can be procured. At *Prince's-island* may be had turtle, with which the first, the second, and perhaps the third, ship that comes in the season, may be tolerably supplied; those bought by the *Endeavour's* people cost, upon an average, a halfpenny or three farthings per pound; large fowls, a dozen of them for a Spanish dollar; small deer, not larger than a rabbit, twopence a-piece; larger deer, about the size of a sheep, but of which only two were brought down, a rupee; many kinds of fish, tolerably cheap; cocoa-nuts, at the rate of a hundred for a dollar, if picked, or one hundred and thirty, if taken promiscuously; plaintains in great plenty; some pineapples, watermelons, jacks, and pumpkins; besides rice, the greatest part of which is of the mountain kind, yams, and several other vegetables, at very reasonable rates. The other islands in the straits of *Sunda*, appertaining to the dominions of *Bantam*, are too insignificant to have been particularly described. They are mostly entirely level, founded upon beds of coral, and covered with trees. A few, however, have steep and naked sides, such as the island *Dwars in den Weg*, or *Thwart-the-way*, and the two very small round ones, called by the Dutch, *Brabandsch Hoedje*, and *Toppers Hoedje*, and by the English the *Cap*, and *Button*. The gentlemen accompanying Lord MACARTNEY in the *Lion*, had occasion to visit the two lastmentioned; they were so steep and rugged, that it was difficult to get ashore on them: at a little distance, they might be taken for the remains of old castles,

August, out of the complete number of the Company's servants, including pennifts, mariners, and military, being three hundred and feventeen, the deaths amounted to fixty, which is about one in five.

The divifion which follows next in geographical order, is that of *Jaccatra*, with its *Preanger* lands; *Preanger* lands is the denomination given to thofe diftricts which did not anciently belong to the kingdom of *Jaccatra*, but which have been united to the Company's poffeffions fince the year 1677: with refpect to their adminiftration, they are divided between *Batavia*, and the refidency of *Cheribon* *.

tles, mouldering into ruins, with tall trees already growing upon the tops; but, upon a nearer view, they betrayed evident marks of a volcanic origin: in the *Cap* were found two caverns, running horizontally into the fide of the rock, in which were a number of thofe birds'-nefts, fo much prized by the Chinefe epicures. The fituation of thefe places was, on that occafion, determined with the greateft nicety, viz:

	South lat.	East long. from London.
<i>Thwart-the-way</i> . . .	5° 55'	105° 43'
<i>North</i> island . . .	5 38 . . .	105 43 30"
<i>Cap</i>	5 58 30"	105 48 30
<i>Button</i>	5 49 . . .	105 48 30

7.

* See MosSEL's Observations upon *Jaccatra*, and the *Preanger* lands, page 1. S.

This

This division is full one hundred and ten Dutch miles in circumference. To the west, it borders upon *Bantam*, with the districts of *Greending*, *Badak*, and *Pagadongan*; to the south, upon the southern ocean, for the most part with the district of *Jampan*, and partly with that of *Soekapoura*, belonging to the *Cheribon Preanger* lands; to the east, upon the government of *Cheribon* itself, with the districts of *Timpanganten*, *Samadang*, *Pagadeen*, and *Pamanoekang*; to the north, upon the sea, with the districts of *Pamanoekang*, *Tjassen*, *Crawang*, and that of *Jaccatra* proper, under *Batavia*.

The country of *Jaccatra*, with its *Preanger* lands, comprizes, upon the whole, thirty districts, containing together 33,914 *tjat-jars*, or families, thus 203,484 inhabitants, of which the district of *Batavia* alone contains 19,469 families, or 116,814 inhabitants; this shews that the other districts are proportionally much less populous, whereby a great extent of excellent land remains uncultivated and neglected, and even what is tilled is owing to the industry and perseverance of the Chinese who are settled here.

The paucity of inhabitants in the country of *Jaccatra*, cannot, like that in the empire of the *Soesoeboenam*, be attributed to the ravages of a destructive war; for *Jaccatra* has, since the last siege of *Batavia*, in the year 1629, been very little subjected thereto, except in the insurrection of the Chinese, in the year 1740, when even the Javans of *Jaccatra* were the least concerned in it; but it may principally be ascribed to the circumstance, that, after the arms of the Company were victorious over the kingdom of *Jaccatra*, and they had taken the capital, having likewise defeated the army of *Bantam*, all the inhabitants of the country were carried away into the kingdom of *Bantam*; whereby *Jaccatra* remained, for a considerable space of time, nearly in an uninhabited state.

It appears, however, according to the statement of Mr. MosSEL, that these lands contained only, in the year 1753, the number of one hundred and fifty thousand souls; so that, in opposition to the other parts of *Java*, the population has here been considerably augmented*.

* See Memorial of Mr. MosSEL, respecting the state of the East-India Company, dated the 30th of November, 175. 8.

Every district has its regent, who are all appointed immediately by the supreme Indian government at *Batavia*. These regents decide in civil matters of little importance, but affairs of consequence they must lay before the commissary of inland affairs, or before the governor general.

Jaccatra is watered and fertilized by several rivers, most of which, however, are little better than small rivulets, in the good or dry season. The largest of these are the *Sedani*, or the river of *Tangerang*, and that of *Crawang*; they descend from the high mountains inland, and flow into the sea, in a northerly direction.

The river of *Tangerang* runs into the sea, not far from the point of *Ontong Java*, and near its mouth there is a small post of the Company, called the *Kwal*. Just below that post, the river gives a part of its water to the *Mookerwaart*, which is a canal cut from that place to *Batavia*, in order to provide the canals and moats of the city with water; but as, in the rainy season, this river swells up very high, and too much would then be conveyed through that cut to the city, a lock was made, in the year 1770, at the upper
end

end of the said *Mookervaart*, which cost full seventy thousand rixdollars *, and whereby now no more water than is wanted is suffered to come to *Batavia*.

It is not the water alone of the river of *Tangerang* that supplies this canal, but likewise that of the rivers of *Ankee*, *Passangarang*, and *Grogol*; and it is through the *Mookervaart* that *Batavia* receives most of its water; for that which comes down by what is called the great river of *Jaccatra*, is very trifling in quantity compared with this. The drain, called the *Slokbaan* (the glutton, or cormorant), which was dug in the year 1746, a little to the eastward of the river of *Jaccatra*, receives the water from the upper grounds, and thus deprives it of its greatest force †. The conformation of the country likewise

* About 15,270*l.* sterling. T.

† The Dutch seem to have pitched upon *Batavia* for the convenience of water-carriage; and, in that respect, it is, indeed, a second Holland, and superior to every other place in the world. There are very few streets in the city that have not a canal of considerable breadth running through, or rather stagnating in them, and continued for several miles beyond the town, intersecting, together with five or six rivers, in almost every direction, the dead flat in which it is situated; nor is this the worst, for the fence of every field and garden is a ditch; and

likewise requires that *Batavia* should receive its water from the westward, as, on that side, it is more elevated than on the other, according to several observations made by surveyors.

The rivers, the *Sontar*, the *Bacassie*, and the *Tjikarang*, find their way into the sea, to the east of *Batavia*.

The productions of *Jaccatra* are principally coffee, sugar, and rice; likewise indigo, cotton-yarn, turmeric, and cadjang, or lentiles, from which last oil is pressed*.

The

and interspersed, among the cultivated ground, there are many filthy fens, bogs, and morasses, as well fresh as salt. Nay, such is the influence of habit, both upon the taste and understanding, that Governor General VAN DER PARRA, whose country-house was situated upon the only rising ground near *Batavia*, contrived, at some trouble and expence, to inclose his own garden with a ditch. &c.

* In 1778, were sold, in Holland, the following articles, being productions of the colony of *Jaccatra* :

2,000,000*lbs.* of sugar, at four stivers.

2,000,000*lbs.* of coffee, at eleven ditto.

500,000*lbs.* of pepper, at seventeen ditto.

100 leagers of arrack.

10,000*lbs.* of candied ginger.

cotton-yarn, to the amount of *f*.20,000, and

indigo, to the amount of *f*.1000.

This may be taken as the annual quantity of what *Jaccatra* is able to furnish for Europe, and the gain upon these articles is considerable,

The Company possess this empire by right of conquest, having taken it from its king, who was obliged to yield to their arms in the year 1619; and *Batavia* was founded on or near the site of his capital city, *Jaccatra*.

The third division of *Java* is *Cheribon*, which, together with its *Preanger* lands, may be about half the size of *Jaccatra* and its dependencies. It borders, to the west, upon *Jaccatra*, with the districts of *Lim-bangan*, *Tjauris*, *Impanagara*, and *Indramayo*; to the south, upon the southern ocean, with the district of *Soekapoura*; to the east, upon the province of *Banjoemaas*, or *Panjoemag*, belonging to the sultan, with the district of *Soekapoura*, upon the country of the *soesoe-boenam*, with the districts of *Oetame* and *Gabang*, and upon the strand-regency of *Brebes*, with the district of *Lassary*; and to the

considerable, as none of them cost much; the pepper and coffee scarcely $2\frac{1}{2}$, and the sugar $1\frac{1}{2}$, stivers per pound. Of sugar, the Company further dispose every year of full four millions of pounds weight, in *Japan*, *Surat*, the *Malabar*, and other establishments, upon which they likewise make considerable profits; and about the same quantity, 4,000,000*lbs.* is exported in private trade, together with immense quantities of arrack, rice, and other articles. The revenues and expences of *Jaccatra*, are included in those of *Batavia*, which we add to the account of that city given in chapter iv. T.

north, upon the sea, with the abovementioned district of *Gabang*, and those of *Cheribon* proper, and *Indramayo*.

It comprizes in all nine districts, containing full fifteen thousand *tjatjars*, or families, being *sikapo*, or fixed inhabitants, besides the *boedjango*, or unmarried, and strangers.

These lands are divided between two princes, the sultan ANOM SOEPOE CHERIBON, and the PANAM BAHAN, both of whom are feudatories of the Company. Of the last, it is a rule, that the children succeed to the father in his dignity, provided they are inclined to do so; and if they do not choose to be burdened with the cares of authority, they have the right of nominating a deputy to exercise their hereditary power, in their stead.

Formerly, there were three princes of *Cheribon*; but in the year 1769, one of them, not treating his subjects well, was sent in exile, by the supreme government, to *Amboyna*, where I saw him, in the year 1775.

These princes are obliged to deliver all the produce of their country, for certain fixed prices, exclusively to the Company; and neither

neither the princes, nor their subjects, are allowed to have any communication with strangers, much less to carry on trade with foreign nations in any of the articles produced upon their lands. On the part of the Company, as much care is taken as possible, to prevent the contravention of these conditions; and they have a resident here, with a garrison of seventy Europeans, stationed in a small fort, in the district of *Cberibon*, whilst there is also an outpost stationed at *Indramayo*.

This empire put itself under the protection of the Company in the year 1680. In criminal matters, the administration rests in the combined authority of the two princes, united to the Company's resident.

Its productions are coffee, timber, cotton-yarn, areca, indigo, sugar, and also a little pepper; this last article grew formerly here in such abundance, that in the year 1680, the bhar of three hundred and seventy-five pounds was paid for at the rate of no more than ten Spanish dollars*.

Before

* This, at the rate at which Spanish dollars are current in these parts of India, is equal to about 16s. sterling per *cwt*.

Before the war of the year 1740, the *soefoeboenam*, or the emperor of *Java*, as he was called, was the sole proprietor of all the country, lying eastward of the lastmentioned empire of *Cheribon*, which was the western boundary of that of the *soefoeboenam*. This comprized all the rest of the island, and was inclosed, on the other sides, by the sea, and the narrow straits which separate *Java* from the islands of *Bali* and *Madura*. It extended in length, from east to west, one

English. *Cheribon* does not contribute a few, or unimportant, articles to the consumption of India, and to the trade to Europe. It yields yearly, for the former, at least one thousand lasts of rice, and one million pounds of sugar, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 stivers per pound; and for Europe, at least

30,000*lbs.* of cotton-yarn, of letter A, at 14 stivers (1*s.* 3*d.*)

10,000*lbs.* of indigo, at 30 stivers . . . (2*s.* 9*d.*)

and 1,200,000*lbs.* of coffee, at $2\frac{1}{3}$ stivers.

Yet, in 1778, no more than 1,000,000*lbs.* of the *Cheribon* coffee were sold in Holland, at eleven stivers per pound. The intrinsic revenues of this settlement are amply sufficient to defray the charges. In 1779, the last amounted to *f.*12,584, and the former to *f.*35,761, shewing a favourable balance of *f.*23,177, or 2,107*l.* sterling. In 1776-1777, the establishment of *Cheribon* consisted of ninety-eight Europeans; namely, fourteen civil servants, one clergyman, three surgeons, two artillerymen, sixteen seamen, sixty soldiers, and three mechanics. The resident at *Cheribon* is said to make no less than 70,000 rixdollars (upwards of 15,000*l.* sterling, per annum. *T.*

hundred Dutch miles, and in breadth, upon an average, about five-and-twenty. It contained fifty-six provinces, or districts, large and small; and, as we have before stated, three hundred and nine thousand seven hundred tjatjars, or families. After that period, thirty of those provinces, all situated on the seacoast, were ceded to the Company, for an equivalent in money; and seven, amongst which was the *Mataram*, to the sultan MANKO BOENI. This empire, anciently so formidable to the Company, is now so reduced in power and extent, that its monarch can at present (1777) enumerate no more than sixteen provinces remaining under his dominion, containing only thirty-three thousand two hundred tjatjars, or families. On what occasion, and in what manner, the empire was thus torn asunder, and how part of it came to be given to the sultan MANKO BOENI, to the prejudice of MASSEYD, who is now under the present reigning sultan, has been detailed in another place*.

The dominions which fell to the lot of the sultan MANKO BOENI, who is still

living, consist of seven provinces, which lie interspersed between those which have remained with the *soesoeboenam*; and this intermixture of the territories of these two monarchs, makes them, individually, much more feeble, than if the possessions of each were adjoining to one another, and formed one compact country. The seven provinces belonging to the sultan contain, together, fifteen thousand eight hundred tjatjars, or families; the most extensive and most important of them, is the province of *Mataram*, which is washed by the southern ocean.

Although the principality of *Madura* is now solely confined to the island of that name, which lies to the northeast of *Java*, from which it is separated by a narrow strait of scarcely a league and a half over, it has always been reckoned to belong to the government of *Java's northeast coast*: the whole island is divided into three districts, and contains thirty thousand tjatjars, or families; it is thirty Dutch miles in length, and, upon an average, scarcely six in breadth.

All these princes possess their dominions in the quality of vassals of the Company, whose pretensions to the paramount autho-

rity, are grounded upon a voluntary cession of all his dominions, alleged to have been made in favour of the Company, by the late deceased *soesoeboenam*, upon his death-bed, in the year 1746: this, at least, is what is pretended, for the sake of appearance, as it is otherwise pretty well understood, that the emperor was dead, before this pretended cession was made known to the grandees of the court; but this is kept as much a secret as possible; though what could they have done against the Company, who were possessed of the power of maintaining the validity of the cession, by force of arms? The empire, thus weakened and diminished, was afterwards given, as a fief, to one of the princes of the imperial race, to the prejudice of MASSEYD; who, however, was quieted with a certain appanage, and the promise, that if the present *soesoeboenam* died without issue, his children, in the right of being the nearest of blood, should succeed to the imperial ignity. There is, at present, however, no probability that this will ever come to pass, as the *soesoeboenam* has not only several children, but one of them has already been appointed his successor

cessor in the empire by the Company ; and a similar favour was equally granted in the year 1776, to one of the sons of the sultan MANKO BOENI.

The titles which the present reigning *Soefoeboenam* has assumed are as follows : *Soefoeboenam* (monarch, or sole ruler), *Pacoeboeana* (axis of the globe, literally nail or spike of the earth), *Senepatty Hiengalaga* (commander in chief of all the armies), *Abdul Rachman* (holy priest, literally slave of the most merciful God), *Sabiedien* (sovereign king), *Panatagama* (prince of the faithful): those of the sultan of the *Mataram*, are, *Sultan* (prince or king), *Hamin Coeboeana* (regent of the world), *Senepatty Hiengalaga*, *Abdul Rachman*, *Sabiedien*, *Panatagama*, *Calif*, *Attu lach* (vicegerent of the Almighty).

All these princes bound themselves, in the year 1756, not to deliver any of the products of their respective countries to any other than the Company ; and, in every case, to act both defensively and offensively, in conjunction with the Company, against their enemies.

The Company are pretty well secured
against

against the departure from these stipulations, on the part of the Javanese princes, by being in the absolute possession of almost all the provinces that border upon the sea, which have partly fallen to them by the fortune of war, and partly by cession from the emperor; as a compensation for which, they have to pay an annual sum of fifty thousand Spanish dollars, from which, however, thirty thousand are deducted, for the charges of the detachment of European military, that attend the emperor at his court at *Djolo*, or *Soweacarta*. These provinces have each their regent of their own nation, under the title of *tommagong patti*, who are respectively subordinate to the several residents.

CHAPTER III.

Importance of JAVA to the Dutch East-India Company.—Reflections on the Conduct of the Company towards the native Princes—And towards their Javanese Subjects.—Necessity of Reform in these Points.

FROM all that has preceded, the great importance of the island of *Java*, to the East-India Company, will have very evidently appeared. It is fertile in productions, which have now, by the progressive increase of luxury in the world, become articles almost of the first necessity, whereby this colony is adequate to bring as much, if not more, wealth into the coffers of the Company, than the spice-islands, which have hitherto been considered as the chief means of the prosperity, if not even essential to the existence, of that body. But *Java* can only hope to be equally precious with the spice-islands, by a change of circumstances, by cordial exertions to promote the cultivation of

of its highly fertile soil with industry and vigour, by ceasing to depress and impoverish the natives by constant injustice and continual extortion, and by avoiding, in future, every species of war, which, by producing a still greater depopulation, would bring destruction to the Indians, and ruin to the Company.

The princes of the country, although sovereign over their own subjects*, are, nevertheless, the one more, and the other less, vassals of the Company; and in so far subjected to them, that the mode of succession to their thrones is regulated, and the heirs of their dignity are nominated, by the Company. The dismemberment of the empire of the *Soesoeboenam*, and the possession of the seacoasts, render the Company secure from that power, formerly so redoubted, and from the consequences of such prejudicial engagements and alliances, as might be

* Yet, whenever the Company have judged it expedient, they have not hesitated to interfere in the internal government of these dependent princes: an instance of this occurs in the last chapter, where we are informed, that one of the princes of *Cheribon* was deposed by the Company, for misconduct towards his own subjects. *T.*

entered into, by the native princes, with European powers. And, although those princes bow themselves with reluctance under the yoke that has been imposed upon them, yet they are wise enough to consider, that, if they were even fortunate enough to disengage themselves from their present bondage, their power has been so broken by the depopulation of the country, that, freed from the Dutch Company, they would still be obliged to yield to the first foreign nation, that should have the inclination, and the ability, to establish themselves upon the island, and, perhaps, be reduced to a more cruel state of servitude, than they now experience under their actual taskmasters; of which they have a striking example before them, in the mogul empire.

I am of opinion, therefore, that, if the government at *Batavia* were to cherish, protect, and favour, as much as possible, the several princes of *Java*, giving them every indulgence in matters of small moment, without, however, suffering any diminution of the power and influence that has been attained over them, those princes would see the sound policy, of rather maintaining the Company

Company in their possessions on the island, than allowing them to be transferred to other hands, without opposition on their part.

If it be necessary for the Company to attach these princes to them by the bands of political interest, it is no less an object of importance for their welfare, and perhaps of necessity to their safety, that they equally aim at securing the attachment to them of their Javanese subjects; by rendering their lives at least supportable to them, and opposing and preventing the shameful treatment and crying injustice, which these poor people experience at the hands of the governor, residents, and regents. The common Javanese are in an absolute state of slavery; they are no more masters of what little they seem to possess, than an unconditional slave, who, together with all he has, belongs to the master who has purchased him, his labour, and his posterity, for money. The common Javan, is not only obliged, at fixed periods, to deliver a certain quantity of the fruits of his industry to the regent placed over him, in behalf of the Company, for whatever price the latter chooses to allow him,

him, and that price, moreover, paid in goods, which are charged to him at ten times their real value; but he likewise cannot consider what may remain to him as his own property, not being permitted to do with it what he may think fit, nor allowed to sell it to others, at a higher, or a lower rate; and he is, on the contrary, compelled to part with this also, as well as what was claimed of him in behalf of the Company, to the same petty tyrant, for himself, at an arbitrary, and frequently at an infamous price. The regents experience, in their turn, though, perhaps, in a less iniquitous degree, the oppression of the residents; whilst in the country of *Jaccatra*, the commissary for inland affairs acts the same part, in a no less unjustifiable manner, under the immediate eye of the governor general, towards the native regents and common Javanese in that province.

The continually decreasing state of the population in *Java*, which, from the year 1738, to the present time (1777), has diminished more than one half, may, in my opinion, be attributed to the natural operation of this abject state of depression
and

and servitude, in which the common people of *Java* live, as well as to the ravages of a war of nearly twenty-five years, to which it has been the custom solely to ascribe it; though this war, and the various civil commotions which have happened besides, have, undoubtedly, greatly contributed to this considerable waste of the human species.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of the Javanese.—Their Indolence, not merely the Result of Climate, but also of the arbitrary Government.—Proved by, and contrasted with, the Industry of the Chinese here.—Food of the Javanese.—Their Dwellings.—Household Conveniences.—Usual Period of Life.—Peculiar Disease.—Religion.—Mosques.—Account of a famous Mausoleum near CHERIBON.—Customs of the Javanese.—Laws respecting Inheritance.—Their Appearance, Dress, &c.

THE Javanese are said to be of an indolent disposition, and that much pains must be taken to excite them to the performance of any labour. This is, in general, true of all the nations who inhabit the torrid zone, and who live under despotic governments, by which they are deprived of their property, in an arbitrary manner. But would not this vice, which is represented as a national blemish in the character of the Javanese, be, in a great measure, amended—would it
not

not be removed, if arrangements were made, that to these miserable people might be left the property and uncontrouled disposition of only that portion of the fruits of their labour, which might remain, after they have furnished to the Company the quantities and qualities required at their hands. Assuredly, I flatter myself, that the best effects would result herefrom. The inhabitants of *Java* possess, in common with all the rest of mankind, a natural and innate desire of having the free command and disposal of their own property; and, like others, they would, to obtain this, submit to heavy labour, and be more industrious, in proportion as they had the more certain prospect of earning a property, and of security in the possession and enjoyment of it.

But now, deprived of the most distant prospect, and not encouraged by any hope of bettering their situation; they sit down fully contented, as it were, with the little that is left to them, by their despotic and avaricious masters; who, by this unwise, as well as unfeeling, conduct, extinguish every spark of industry, and plunge

their subjects into the gloom of hopeless inactivity.

The climate, it is alleged, influences upon their disposition, and compels them to a life of indolence. But does not the fallacy of this assertion appear in the Chinese who reside here? These inhabit the same island, open their variegated shops next to the dwelling of the Javanese, and till with laborious industry the neglected soil around the wretched habitation of the native. In diligence, perseverance, and manual labour, they surpass many of the industrious classes of the community in Europe. But they are comparatively unshackled, and are free masters of what they can earn by trade, or procure by agriculture, beyond the pecuniary or other assessments levied upon them by the government. This encourages them readily to undertake the most laborious occupations, and diligently to persevere in them, while they feel a rational hope of obtaining, in proper time, the reward due to their exertions.

The Javanese, therefore, possessing nearly no certain property, are satisfied with little.

The

The usual food of those who inhabit the level country, is rice, with a little fish; but those who dwell in the high land, and in the mountains, and who plant little or no rice, make use of a certain root, called *tallas*, which the earth affords them, and some salt, which they make out of the ashes of wood.

Their dwellings are little huts, generally constructed of bamboos, plaistered with mud, and covered with *atap*, or other similar leaves.

The conveniencies of household furniture are unknown to them. The whole of the apparatus to be seen in their wretched hovels consists of a kind of bedstead, two or three feet from the ground, made of bamboos, one or two pots to boil their victuals in, a hollow block to pound their rice in, and a few cocoanutshells for drinking vessels.

Generally speaking, their period of life does not much exceed half a century; and few of them are found to attain to the age of threescore.

They are subject to a sort of ulcers, which is a disease peculiar to the island, and to its

inhabitants, and which has thence received the denomination of the Java pox, from Europeans. It is a sort of lues, but of a less malignant nature.

Their religion is that of MAMOMED ; yet it is accompanied by many superstitious opinions and observances, retained from the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. In the interior parts they have no abstract ideas of religion, and can, indeed, form none, but such as arise immediately from the gross observation of their senses. The mahomedan religion was introduced into *Java* by the Arabians *.

* In the year 1406, CHEIK IEN MOLANA, otherwise called IEN ISRAEL, an Arabian, who had contributed to the propagation of the mahomedan faith, at *Acbeer*, *Jobar*, and other places in the east, came to *Java*, and took up his abode near the place where afterwards the city of *Cberibon* was built : the Javanese mahomedans look upon him as the founder of their religion in the island ; but it appears from VALENTYN, that the kings of *Demak* and *Pasjang* had been converted to mahomedanism, before the arrival of CHEIK IEN MOLANA, to whom the king of *Demak* gave his daughter in marriage, and with her, as a portion, the country of *Cberibon* : the city of that name was built about the same time, and CHEIK IEN MOLANA became both a powerful sovereign, and a venerated apostle of Islamism : both the kings of *Bantam*, and the princes of *Cberibon*, derive their origin from him, and mahomedans, from all parts of *Java*, perform pilgrimages to his tomb, as to that of one of their greatest saints. T.

Their

Their mosques, or places of prayer, are dispersed all over the country. They are mostly built of wood, and have neither exterior appearance, nor interior ornament, to recommend them to the curiosity of strangers. Near *Cberibon*, however, I understood that a very handsome mosque was erected near the grave of one of their saints *.

They

* The tomb, or mausoleum, of CHEIK IBN MOLANA, near *Cberibon*, with the mosque belonging to it, is deserving of particular description. It may rank among the most curious and magnificent antiquities, not only of *Java*, but of the east. It is called by excellence, *astana*, or the palace of the *seejoebenam goenong djati* (monarch of the mountain of djati-trees). It is a vast semicircular space, or amphitheatre, seemingly cut out of a rock, the mountain of djati trees, and divided into five different areas, or courts, each rising above the other, and communicating with steps. The front is guarded by a row of pallisades; beyond these there is a wall of about five feet high, faced with little white and painted Chinese tiles, in the middle of which, seven steps lead up to the first court, which is the largest and broadest of the five, being one hundred feet in front; on the wall are ranged nine superb, and inconceivably large, china vases, with flowers, and two large trees grow on the left side of this area. Another wall, exactly similar to the first, divides this from the second court; at the foot of this wall stand, on the right hand, seven, and on the left hand six, large and beautiful china vases, with flowers; the ascent to the second court is by five steps; and upon the wall are placed, on each side, four similar large china vases, and eight trees

They do not bury their dead in coffins, as the Europeans or their Chinese neighbours

are planted in this court, so disposed that each vase stands between two trees, except on the left side, where the irregularity is observable of two trees standing together ; in this court, there are two handsome Javanese houses, intended for the reception of the princes, or great men, who may come upon a pilgrimage to this sacred place : four china vases, with flowers, are also placed in the upper part of this court, at the foot of the third wall. All these vases are the gifts of sundry mahomedan princes, the kings of *Bantam*, *Macassar*, *Palembang*, and others, who have, at various times, visited the tomb. A neatly paved path leads quite across the second court, to the entrance of the third, which is through a handsome gate, and up four steps ; but this court, which is much smaller than the other two, and is guarded by a similar wall, has nothing in it. No christians are allowed to go higher than this place, although some of the upper officers of the Company are said to have penetrated as far as the fifth and last court. There is no wall before the fourth, but merely an ascent by five steps cut in the rock ; in this there is a magnificent moorish temple, or mosque, with three roofs above each other, all decreasing in size upwards, and the area is planted with trees on each side of the mosque. The ascent from this to the last and smallest of the courts is, probably, likewise by steps, but they are hidden by the mosque and trees in the fourth : this farthest and most elevated area, seems to be only eight or nine paces broad on each side, but it runs considerably back, in a semi-circular shape ; upon it appears nought but the tomb itself of the holy man ; this, by reason of the great height and distance, cannot be accurately described ; it appears to be a handsome

hours do, but they simply wrap them in a piece of white linen, and deposit them in the grave, placing two stones upon it, one at the head, and one at the feet. They believe that these stones are to serve for seats to the two angels, who, after their death, examine into their conduct, while in this world.

The laws of *Java* determine the right of inheritance as follows: when a man dies, leaving a widow, a child, either son or daughter, and a brother, his substance is divided into eight equal shares; the child receives four of them; the widow, one;

handsome and lofty structure, with a large arched gate; and some pretend to distinguish a profusion of gilding upon it. It is necessary to observe, that the whole is formed in a sloping direction, and that each court has a considerable acclivity before reaching the entrance of the next, which renders the site of the tomb itself, very elevated: these entrances are all closed by little railed gates. Both the tomb, and the buildings appertaining to it, are kept in very indifferent repair, and run to decay from day to day. This description is dated in 1722, and is inserted in VALENTYN'S work, vol. iv. pages 15 and 16; but though, in the lapse of time, many things may have changed their appearance, yet the grand outlines of this stupendous monument must remain the same, and are well worthy the enquiries and examination of future travellers.

and the brother, three. If the deceased leave two, three, or four widows, then that share which is otherwise given to the one widow is divided, in equal portions, among all the claimants of the vidual inheritance, let the part that falls to each be ever so small. If the deceased have two, three, or more brothers, the same is done with respect to them, and the three-eighths which would have fallen to the share of one, is divided equally among them all, provided, however, that they be all sons of the same father.

These laws, however, are sometimes departed from, when circumstances afford inducements to favour one of the heirs more than the others.

Thus, the high priests of the provinces of *Patty* and *Joana*, certified to the resident of *Joana*, that they had fixed the share of the widow of a man, who had died there, at one-third part of the whole inheritance, and had divided the remaining two-thirds into eight portions, one of which they likewise adjudged to the widow, four to the daughter of the deceased, and three to his brother; giving as a reason for this departure

parture from the usual mode, that the wife had, by her own diligence and industry, gained the greatest part of the property thus left to be divided, and being therefore the occasion of the prosperity of the family, ought to be the greatest sharer in the division of the estate.

The Javanese are, in general, well shaped, of a light brown colour, with black eyes and hair; their eyes are more sunk in the head than is generally observed in the nations living south of the line; they have flattish noses, and large mouths; they are mostly thin, yet muscular; a few corpulent men among them make no exception to this general description. The women, when young, have much softer features than the men, but when they grow old imagination can not well conceive more hideous hags.

The dress of the men consists of a pair of linen breeches, which scarcely reach half way down their thighs, and over this, they wear a sort of shirt, made of blue or black coarse cotton cloth, which hangs loose about them, down below the knees. The hair of the head is bound up in a handkerchief, in the form of a turban.

The dress of the women consists of a coarse chintz cloth, wrapped twice round the body, and fastened under the breasts, hanging down to the midleg, or lower; over this they wear a little short jacket, which reaches to the waist: they have no covering to the head, but wear their hair bound in a fillet, and fastened at the back part of the head with large pins: they sometimes adorn their hair with chaplets of flowers.

Children, both boys and girls, often run about entirely naked, till they are eight or nine years of age.

What I have mentioned with respect to dress, relates alone to the lower sort of Javanese; the higher orders, and rich people, wear much more costly garments.

CHAPTER V.

BATAVIA.—Its Situation.—Harbour.—Canals.—Walls.—Castle.—Houses, &c.—Inhabitants.—Revenues and Charges, &c.—Character of the Inhabitants.—Mode of Living.—Marriages.—Slaves.—Treatment of them.—Their Passion for gaming—Not duly restrained.

BATAVIA lies, according to the best observations, in the south latitude of $6^{\circ} 5'$, on the northern shore of the empire of *Jacatra*, in the deepest part of a bay which is formed by the points of *Ontong*, *Java*, and *Crawang*; from which points, it lies, namely, from the former, about four Dutch miles southeast, and from the latter, about five miles southwest. Ten or twelve small islands, at the distance of from two to four leagues from the city, shelter the bay from N.W. to N. by E. from the swell of the sea; the road is between a quarter and half a league from the city. The ground, upon which the city is built, bears evident marks
of

of having been left, or thrown up, by the sea ; as is the case with a great extent of the land situated on each side, the shore of which is almost always soft mud, for a good way up, and which encreases every year. Above, or to the south of the city, towards *Tanabang* and *Weltevreden*, the ground rises by degrees, and the soil becomes firmer and drier the nearer you approach the mountains, which lie twelve or more Dutch miles inland.

I have before mentioned, that *Batavia* receives the greatest part of its water by the drain which has been made from the *Sedani*, or river of *Tangerang* ; but neither is this, nor the water of the other rivers, which, communicating with the *Mooker-vaart*, is brought to the city, added to the great river of *Jaccatra*, that runs through the middle of it, altogether nearly sufficient to give a proper degree of circulation to the inner and outer canals of the city, whereby most of them have only one or two feet water in the good monsoon, or dry season ; and in the cross-canals, there is no current whatsoever perceptible ; and it is very probable, that, if no greater force of backwater can

can be brought to act upon them, many of both the longitudinal and the cross-canals will, ere long, run perfectly dry.

The form of the city is an oblong square, longitudinally intersected by the great river. Its circumference, including the castle, is about twelve hundred roods, or one Dutch mile ; the longest sides, which lie in the direction of s. by e. and n. by w. are about three hundred, and the shortest sides two hundred, roods in length. Besides the city-moats, which run entirely round, each division, on either side of the river, has two canals, running parallel with the longest sides, and intersected, at right angles, by several cross-canals.

The city is surrounded by a wall of coral-rock, serving as a facing to the rampart behind it, which occupies but a very narrow space of ground in many places. It is defended by twenty or one-and-twenty bastions, if the greater part of them may be so called, as they are mostly of a square or semicircular shape, projecting beyond the curtains, which, with the wall itself, are built nearly perpendicular, and are in so ruinous a condition, as to threaten to fall down every day, for which reason no other
cannon

cannon are placed upon them but such as are very light, and intended only to fire general salutes.

The castle, which formerly lay by the seaside, but which is now, by the continual encrease of the mudbanks before it, full one hundred roods from the sea, stands on the east bank of the river that divides the town into two parts; it covers about two hundred roods of ground, and is a regular square fortress, with four bastions, built of rock-stone. For these regions it might be considered as a tolerably strong fortification, were it not full of buildings within-side, that must obstruct, if not render impracticable, the defence of it. Besides this, Governor General VAN IMHOF has rendered it entirely useless as a citadel, by breaking down the curtain which formerly connected the two bastions, looking towards the city, in order to make a roomy esplanade before the government-house, and the other buildings in the castle; indefensible, therefore, on that side, whoever is in possession of the eastern part of the city, is equally master of the castle.

I shall not detain my readers with a further description of the city, as I have given some particulars

particulars respecting it in the account of my former voyage ; and many others have published more ample descriptions of it, which are accurate enough to afford a tolerable good idea of the place.

Besides the public buildings, the following number of houses, of all descriptions, large and small, are found here, viz.

in the city itself,	2,442 houses
in the southern suburb,	559
out of the <i>Rotterdam</i> or <i>Ansjel</i> -gate, . . .	732
out of the <i>Utrecht</i> -gate,	760
and in the Chinese campon, which may be considered as a suburb,	1,277
fo that <i>Batavia</i> and its suburbs, contain, in all,	5,770 houses. *

The

* We suspect a mistake in this statement, which seems copied, with a difference of 1000 houses, from VALENTYN'S account ; which is as follows :

in the city 678 large } Dutch houses	
564 small }	
997 Chinese ditto	
203 Dutch ditto, tenanted by Chinese.—In all	2,442
and out of the city,	

	arrack houses.	large Dutch ho.	small ditto.	Chinese ditto.	total.
at the <i>New</i> -gate,	6	62	181	309	559
at the <i>Deft</i> -gate,	1	7	33	236	277
at the <i>Rotterdam</i> -gate,	5	120	501	106	732
at the <i>Utrecht</i> -gate,	0	27	135	589	751
coach-houses,	.	.	.	.	9
	<u>12</u>	<u>216</u>	<u>850</u>	<u>1,240</u>	<u>2,328</u>
			in all, without the city,		2,328
			total		4,770
					and

The number of the inhabitants were, in the year 1768, viz.

European free merchants and women,	1,652 persons.
Native christians,	4,571
Slaves,	8,866
all the servants of the Company, exclusive of those who are upon the islands of <i>Oorust</i> , <i>Edam</i> , &c. and the other outposts of <i>Batavia</i> ,	4,000

total in the city and suburbs, 19,089 persons.

It is further calculated that, in the outer town, within the outposts of *Anjot*, *Anker*, *Noord-uyk*, and *Ryfwyk*, as well in their campon as elsewhere, there are Chinese, . . . 30,000
 native christians, out of the *Anjot*-gate, . . . 10,000
 Moors out of the *Utrecht*-gate, . . . 1,000
 Javanese, dispersed in eighteen campons, within the outposts, . . . 30,000

making altogether the number of . 91,089 *

Among

and this account appeared to the gentlemen who were there in 1769, in the *Endeavour*, to be greatly exaggerated, especially with respect to the number of houses within the walls. *HUY-SERS* states the number of houses in *Batavia* to be 3,500, but does not add whether he includes the suburbs. In 1773, there were, in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, sixty brickkilns, thirty-four tilekilns, eighteen limekilns, seven manufactories of earthen ware, twenty arrack distilleries, and about seventy sugarmills. &c.

* From the more particular statements of *HUY-SERS*, we can form a better idea of the number of inhabitants, and the diversity of nations, forming the population of this metropolis of the east. He informs us, that, in 1778, the numbered inhabitants

Among the abovementioned Europeans,
are likewise comprehended the posterity of
Europeans

inhabitants of *Batavia* were as follow, viz. 468 European burghers, 5,582 native christians, 4,873 mardykers, or manumitted slaves of all nations, 23,309 Chinese, 289 Amboynese, 278 Bandanese, 966 Moors, 254 Gentoos, 1,852 Malays, 324 Boutonniers, 1,983 Macassers, 3,707 Bouginese, 104 Timorese, 189 Mandharese, eighty-five Sumbauwers, 13,073 Baliërs, 33,408 Javans, and 26,072 slaves; making, in all, 110,816, exclusive of women and children, and of the Company's servants. The Company's establishment of *Batavia* consisted in 1776-1777 of 613 persons in civil, and thirty-five in ecclesiastical, employments, ninety-nine surgeons and assistants, 125 belonging to the artillery, 875 seamen and marines, 1,571 soldiers, and 903 mechanics; in all, 4,221 Europeans, besides 703 natives in their service. The important revenues arising from the import and export duties, &c. and the valuable productions which the country around it affords, might induce the supposition, that *Batavia*, or rather the colony of *Jaccatra*, for that is the account in the books of the Company, to which all that relates to *Batavia* is carried, were adequate to its own support; yet this is far from being the case. *Batavia* is the metropolis of the Dutch Indian possessions; it is the seat of their government; a large garrison is constantly maintained in it; most of the Company's ships touch here, both outward and homeward-bound; their cargoes are landed and shipped; all recruits are received, maintained, and paid here; in short, almost all the charges of the marine and military establishment of the Company, are carried to the account of *Batavia*; and it cannot, therefore, be but that a considerable balance must appear every year against it. The famous MOSSEL, it is true, in his Memorial of Economy, maintains, that *Batavia* might be rendered a source

Europeans born here, and of these, the most considerable number are women *.

Both the free merchants, or burghers, and the Company's servants, who are natives of Europe, are composed of all the different nations who inhabit that quarter of the globe. The fewest, in number, are Dutch; and the most, Germans.

of great revenue to the Company, even after defraying all these charges. Taking, as a basis, the books of the year 1752, he formed a calculatory statement, making the profits and revenues of *Batavia* amount to *f.*3,300,000, and the charges to *f.*2,800,000 per annum, leaving a yearly surplus of *f.*500,000 (about 45,454*l.* sterling). But the books have not been closed so favourably since his time: in 1767, indeed, a favourable balance appeared of *f.*233,330 (about 21,212*l.*); but in the peaceful year 1779, the collective receipts amounted to *f.*1,820,327, and the charges to *f.*2,384,930, or *f.*564,603 (about 51,327*l.*), more than the receipts, which is vastly different from the calculations of *Mosser*. *T.*

* There are not many women at *Batavia* that were born in Europe, but the white women, who are by no means scarce, are descendants from European parents, of the third or fourth generation, the gleanings of many families who have successively become extinct, in the male line; for it is certain, that, whatever be the cause, this climate is not so fatal to the ladies, as to the other sex. The female Europeans, at *Batavia*, seldom expose themselves to the heat of the sun, make frequent use of the cold bath, and live more temperately than the men, which may be the reasons of their suffering less from the insalubrity of the climate. *T.*

The

The various opinions and habits which have been imbibed, by the different modes of education, and manners of life, of so many individuals, from so many different countries, are here all obliterated, or blended into the single passion of amassing riches, which seems to be "their being's end and aim"; and to attain this object, they leave no means untried that lie in their power. With whatever ideas of virtue or honesty, they may step on shore, they can scarcely be said to have passed the threshold of their first abode, before those unsuitable notions are dismissed from their minds*: there are very few who resist the temptations that assail them, and who do not deviate from the paths of integrity. And yet there are very few who, although they have sacrificed every consideration, for the sake of the object of their unwearied pursuit, attained the wished-for goal, and acquire sufficient wealth, to satisfy their desire of riches; dis-

* Ovington, a traveller of the last century, relates as a common proverbial saying in his time, that, "those who sail from Europe to India, leave their consciences on this side of the *Cape*; and in returning thence to Europe, they leave their consciences on the other side of the *Cape*." So that, except in doubling the *Cape*, an East-Indian was not supposed to have any conscience at all. T.

appointed, therefore, in their expectations, discontented with their situation, and dissatisfied with themselves, they fall into a state of melancholy and dejection, which, added to the influence of a noxious climate upon their health, and the want of their customary viands, exhausts their animal spirits, and renders them a prey to the death that alone extinguishes their boundless lust of wealth.

Most of the people who live here, and even many rich ones, who, it might be supposed, had attained the summit of their wishes, have something in their countenances expressive of discontent and dejection, and which seems a certain sign, that all is not right within. The climate, may, undoubtedly, contribute much to this appearance; the animal spirits do not flow in that free circulation, nor do the powers of the mind possess that strength and elasticity, which animate the human frame, and give energy to the exertions of the soul, in more temperate climes. I have experienced this myself; and I have found that I did not here possess that flow of spirits, and cheerfulness of disposition, which I was seldom without in other countries. This is not all; for, after a short residence in this
debilitating

debilitating atmosphere, a state of languor, and love of inactivity, is soon seen to overcome all the active powers of the mind, and, occasioning a total neglect of exercise, ruins the constitution, and superinduces an absolute repugnance to every kind of occupation. The only resource for those who are in this state of listlessness, approaching to torpidity, is, to seek for some relief by company, and to endeavour to kill the heavy hours, as they pass, in the most frivolous manner : smoking of tobacco, a little uninteresting and useless conversation, drinking, and card-playing, form the sum of their amusements ; and having, in this manner, spent the day and part of the night, they rise the next morning, utterly at a loss how to pass the many tedious hours of the day they enter upon ; and devoid of all inclination for reading, either for amusement or instruction, they are compelled to go the same dull round, and are only solicitous to make choice of such ways of killing time, as interfere the least with their beloved state of motionless repose.

That happy social intercourse, tempered by friendship, and softened by love, which is the result of a rational nuptial connection, is

little seen or known here. Most marriages are made with the sordid views of obtaining riches, or securing preferment ; and the few matrimonial engagements, that are entered into on account of personal qualifications, afford instances of alienation in a very short time after the hymenial knot has been tied : this is greatly caused by the erroneous education which parents here give to their children, but more especially to their daughters. I have, in the account of my former voyage, enlarged on this subject, and likewise respecting the manner of living, disposition, dress, &c. of the Europeans of *Batavia*, both men and women, and it is therefore superfluous for me to say more, on those points, in this place.

There is another circumstance, which does not a little contribute to render the domestic lives of the inhabitants of *Batavia* disagreeable, or unhappy ; this is the service of slaves ; which, as no European servants can be procured, or are allowed to be kept, has become a necessary evil. Every year full three thousand of both sexes are brought to *Batavia*, as well from the coast of *Malabar*, *Bengal*, *Sumatra*, and other parts, as from *Celebes* ;

Celebes ; from which last place, however, the greatest number are imported. A duty of twelve rixdollars * per head, is paid upon all slaves who enter *Batavia* for the first time, excepting upon those, who are brought by the commanders of vessels, from the places where the slaves come from, on their own account ; and which, with respect to the ships coming from *Celebes* or *Macassar*, is fixed to the number of twelve slaves, who are permitted to be brought at one time, without paying any duty upon them.

They are employed in every kind of domestic and menial service, in which they are instructed by those who have been longer in the family, or have had opportunities of improvement ; and they become, in time, good cooks, taylors, coachmen, &c. and do not yield, in their acquired qualifications, to the best of European servants. They experience, in general, better usage, at the hands of their masters, than what the negro slaves in the West-Indies meet with from the colonists ; although instances sometimes likewise occur here, of barbarity and inhumanity in the

* About forty-seven shillings sterling. 7.

treatment of them : but these are not frequent, and those who are guilty of such conduct, seldom fail of meeting their due reward, and are generally murdered, or poisoned, by their exasperated slaves ; or else the slaves run away from their masters, who thereby lose a valuable property, and are punished in their purses. When the slaves are well treated, they possess fidelity enough, and confidence may be reposed in them, provided they do not carry their passion for gaming, to which they are exceedingly addicted, to excess ; for if they have once abandoned themselves to this infatuating vice, they not only play till they lose all they may have of their own, but likewise all they can lay their hands on belonging to their masters, continually flattering themselves with the idle hope of retrieving their former losses by a lucky throw of the dice ; in which they are, generally, miserably deceived ; for the Chinese, who are here accustomed to keep gaming-houses, and among other games of hazard, one denominated top-tables, are too great adepts in the art, and much too cunning for the poor slaves, to allow of their regaining what they may have lost.

It cannot easily be conceived why the supreme government do not put a stop to these baneful proceedings, by prohibiting, or destroying, those dangerous haunts of gamesters and sharpers, which are the causes of the seduction and ruin of the largest part of the slaves in the city; for it is the officers of justice of the municipal government, that fare the best by them, receiving from the keepers of the gaming-houses, a monthly consideration for their protection and connivance*; whence it happens, that these officers will never receive, or attend, to any complaints, which may be made to them of the seduction of the slaves, on the part of their owners: even the confession of the slave himself, who has lost all his own, and his master's property that he could get at, and the testimony of the master, who has found his slave at the gaming-table, do not suffice to procure the conviction or punishment of the Chinese, if the latter merely

* The officers, who have the controul over the Chinese gaming-houses, are required to pay to the Company, as a consideration for the profits they make by them, a monthly contribution of 3,100 rixdollars, or upwards of £.8000 sterling per annum. T.

persists in swearing that he never saw the slave in his house : “ I can do nothing in the business ; the Chinese, you hear, denies it,” is the only answer, and the only satisfaction, that can, in such cases, be obtained from the executor of the law, as I have myself experienced.

What, however, is the most disagreeable circumstance attending a residence at *Batavia*, is the insalubrity of the climate, and the great degree of mortality which prevails there, especially among transient visitors, or people that first arrive ; this is apparent to such a degree, that the English, who circumnavigated the globe (1768-1770), and had experienced almost every vicissitude of climate, declared that *Batavia* was not only the most unhealthy place they had seen, but that this circumstance was a sufficient defence or preservative against any hostile attempts, as the troops of no nation would be able to withstand, nor would any people in their senses, without absolute necessity, venture to encounter this pestilential atmosphere.

CHAPTER VI.

Causes of the Unhealthiness of BATAVIA.—Mud-banks thrown up by the Sea.—Morasses.—Familiarity of the Inhabitants with Disease and Death.—Want of Circulation in the Canals.—Deserted and untenanted Houses.—Depreciation in the Value of Houses.—Other Causes, originating in Europe, applied to explain the great Mortality at BATAVIA.—Periods when the Number of Deaths successively encreased.—Register of the Deaths in the Hospitals, &c.—Comparative and calculatory Statement respecting the Number of Men lost by the Company every Year.

SOUND reason, and the united experience of ages, have incontrovertibly demonstrated, that low, swampy land, such as has been abandoned, or thrown up, by the waves of the sea, and countries overgrown with trees and underwood, are all extremely unhealthy, and frequently fatal, to the greatest proportion of their inhabitants. And the insalubrity of the air has been found to augment, or decrease, in proportion as the habitations of mankind have been placed nearer to, or farther

farther from, morasses, or stagnant waters, or woods, which, by their proximity, prevent the noxious exhalations from being dissipated by a free circulation of air.

All these causes of disease and death combine, in a greater or less degree, their baneful influence, to render *Batavia* one of the most unwholesome spots upon the face of the globe.

They make their appearance throughout all the neighbouring foreland ; and from the point of *Ontong Java*, on one side, to two leagues beyond *Ansjol*, on the other, where the firm sandy beach commences, a dismal succession of stinking mudbanks, filthy bogs, and stagnant pools, announce to more senses than one, the poisonous nature of this dreadful climate.

Along this shore, the sea throws up all manner of filth, slime, mollusca, dead fish, mud, and weeds, which, putrifying with the utmost rapidity, by the extreme degree of heat, load and infect the air with their offensive miasmata. This aggregation of mud and putrification, receives a more peculiar increase during the bad or west monsoon, than at another time ; and the constant prolongation

longation of the pierheads of the river, contributes also a share towards this accretion. The mudbanks, thus recently thrown up, are soon covered with such bushes and shrubs as are proper to morasses, whereby fresh supplies of mud and filth are caught and retained, and the accretion and noxious exhalations are augmented and strengthened, while the northwest winds convey the whole of the putrid effluvia to the city.

Near *Batavia* are likewise found several very low tracts, especially to the west of the city, which, although they lie far enough from the sea, not to be subject to be inundated by it, yet, by the continual and heavy rains which fall in that season of the year, often stand under water; and even include in their circuit, swamps covered with high trees, which augment the corruption of the atmosphere, by their foulest vapours *.

All

* It is not strange that the inhabitants of such a country should be familiar with disease and death. Preventive medicines are taken almost as regularly as food, and every body expects the returns of sickness, as we do the seasons of the year. In the words of a late intelligent and polished traveller, "the European settlers at *Batavia* commonly appear wan, weak, and languid; as if labouring with the 'disease of death.' Their place of residence, indeed, is situated

" in

All this would, alone, be sufficient to render
Batavia a most unwholesome place of abode,
 and

“ in the midst of swamps and stagnated pools, whence they
 “ are every morning saluted with ‘ a congregation of foul and
 “ pestilential vapours,’ whenever the sea-breeze sets in, and
 “ blows over this morass. The meridian sun raises from the
 “ shallow and muddy canals, with which the town is inter-
 “ sected, deleterious miasmata into the air; and the trees,
 “ with which the quays and streets are crowded, emit noxious
 “ exhalations in the night. There are few examples of
 “ strangers remaining in *Batavia* long, without being at-
 “ tacked by fever, which is the general denomination, in
 “ that place, for illness of every kind. The disorder, at first,
 “ is commonly a tertian ague, which, after two or three pa-
 “ roxysms, becomes a double tertian, and then a continued
 “ remittent, that frequently carries off the patient in a short
 “ time. The Peruvian bark is seldom prescribed in any
 “ stage of the disease; or is given in such small quantities, as
 “ to be productive of little benefit. The chief, or rather the
 “ sole, medicine administered, is a solution of camphor in
 “ spirit of wine. The practitioners of physic, at *Batavia*,
 “ where the presence of the most skilful certainly is necessary,
 “ not having had the advantages of a medical education, are
 “ satisfied, as to theory, with considering the nature of the
 “ fever as being to rot and corrupt the human frame; and,
 “ as to practice, that camphor being the most powerful anti-
 “ septic known, it is proper to trust to it, by a rule more
 “ simple even than *MOLIERE*’s, and to exhibit it in every
 “ variety and period of the complaint. The intermittent
 “ fever does not, however, always prove fatal; but conti-
 “ nues, in some instances, even for many years; and the pa-
 “ tient becomes so familiarized to it, as scarcely to think it a
 “ disease, attending, in the intervals of its attack, to his
 “ affairs

and the mortality greater here, than at any other spot of the Company's possessions; but to these, more than adequate causes, which occur in the environs and situation of the city, may be added another no less prejudicial, namely, the present interior state of the town itself, whereby the destructive unhealthiness of the climate is carried to the very pinnacle of corruption.

" affairs, and mixing in society. A gentleman in that predicament, conversing upon the nature of the climate, observed, that, in fact, it was fatal to vast numbers of Europeans who came to settle there; that he lost many of his friends every year; but, for his part, he enjoyed excellent health. Soon after, he called for a napkin to wipe his forehead, adding, that this was his fever-day; he had a shocking fit that morning, and still continued to perspire profusely. Upon being reminded of his late assertion of being always healthy, he replied, he was so, with exception of those fits, which did not prevent him from being generally very well; that he was conscious they would destroy him by degrees, were he to remain in the country long, but that he hoped his affairs would enable him to leave it before that event was likely to take place. It is supposed, that of the Europeans of all classes, who come to settle in *Batavia*, not always half the number survive the year. The place resembles, in that respect, a field of battle, or a town besieged. The frequency of deaths renders familiar the mention of them, and little signs are shewn of emotion and surprise, on hearing that the companion of yesterday is to-day no more." When an acquaintance is said to be dead, the common reply is, " Well, he owed me nothing," or " I must get my money of his executors." T.

Two principal causes are to be met with within the city, and a great part of its insalubrity is, in my opinion, to be ascribed to them, namely, the little circulation of water in the canals which intersect it, and the diminution of the number of its inhabitants. The former is occasioned by the river, which formerly conveyed most of its water to the city, being now greatly weakened by the drain, which has been dug, called the *Slok-baan*, which receives its water from the high land, and carries it away from the city, so that many of the canals run almost dry, in the good monsoon *. The latter derives its origin

* The stagnant canals, in the dry season, exhale an intolerable stench, and the trees, planted along them, impede the course of the air, by which, in some degree, the putrid effluvia would be dissipated. In the wet season the inconvenience is equal, for then these reservoirs of corrupted water overflow their banks in the lower part of the town, and fill the lower stories of the houses, where they leave behind them an inconceivable quantity of slime and filth: yet these canals are sometimes cleaned; but the cleaning of them is so managed, as to become as great a nuisance as the foulness of the water; for the black mud that is taken from the bottom is suffered to lie upon the banks, that is, in the middle of the street, till it has acquired a sufficient degree of hardness to be made the lading of a boat, and carried away. As this mud consists chiefly of human ordure, which is regularly thrown into the canals

origin from the decay of trade, which was formerly so flourishing in this place, that there used to be scarcely a possibility of procuring a house within the walls of the city; at present, on the contrary, those houses in which anciently the greatest merchants dwelt, their countinghouses, where they carried on their business, and the warehouses, which received their immense stocks of merchandize, are now either deserted and untenanted, or changed into stables, or coach-houses. The ruined square, the *Lepel*, or Spoon-street, and other parts of the lower town, afford the most visible testimony of this decay.

The buildings remaining thus uninhabited, and uncleansed, speedily contract, in this low, warm, and marshy place, an infectious and foul air, and contaminate even the houses that are adjoining; and that this both causes

canals every morning, there scarcely being a necessary-house in the whole town, it poisons the air, while it is drying, to a considerable extent. Even the running streams become nuisances in their turn, by the negligence of the people; for every now and then a dead hog, or a dead horse, is stranded upon the shallow parts, and it being the business of no particular person to remove the nuisance, it is negligently left to time and accident. T.

and augments the unhealthiness of the place, is evident from the circumstance, that the mortality is greater in the lower town, or on the north side, than in the other parts of the city that are more fully inhabited.

The castle, which is now esteemed the most unhealthy part of the whole place, used, thirty and more years ago, not to be more so than any other spot around it; but at that time the buildings in it, which are appropriated for the governor general, and for the first servants of the Company, were inhabited by them; these stand at present empty, are neglected, choaked with dirt, and running to decay: the poor office-clerks, who have not the means of procuring another abode, and are compelled, therefore, to dwell in those buildings erected for them in the castle, are the victims. The military, who are, for the most part, quartered in the barracks built for them, and the people belonging to the marine department, who reside upon, or near, the admiralty-wharf, which is opposite to the castle, are no less exposed.

Most people, not satisfied with having left the lower town, in order to go and live higher

higher up, have abandoned the city altogether, and reside in gardens without the walls *, and as far removed from the town, as their circumstances, or the employments which they have to attend to in the city, will allow them; letting their houses in the city stand empty, or occupying them only for a short time of the year, and no longer than is absolutely necessary. This goes on increasing from year to year, and will probably, in the lapse of time, produce the total abandonment and ruin of *Batavia*. The amazing depreciation in the value of houses, is but too clear a proof of this assertion: such as twenty-five or thirty years ago, sold

* The Dutch, who are so fond of gardens in Holland, have transferred that taste, where it can, certainly, be cultivated with more success, and indulge it to a great extent, at their houses a little way from *Batavia*; but still within that fenny district, concerning which, an intelligent gentleman on the spot used the strong expression, that the air was pestilential, and the water poisonous. Yet the country is every where so verdant, gay, and fertile; it is interspersed with such magnificent houses, gardens, avenues, canals, and drawbridges; and is so formed in every respect to please the eye, could health be preserved in it, that a youth coming just from sea, and enraptured with the beauty of every object he saw around him, but mindful of the danger there to life, could not help exclaiming, "What an excellent habitation it would be for "immortals!" T.

for sixteen hundred, or two thousand rixdollars, would not, when I was last there, fetch, at most, one quarter of that sum.

I have here pointed out the chief causes of the greater insalubrity of *Batavia*, than any other place under the same parallels. But yet I think it wrong to ascribe solely to these the amazing mortality among the Europeans who come hither. There are other causes, which are independent of *Batavia* and its climate, which contribute greatly to this mortality. These I should chiefly consider as originating in Europe, since it is certain, that the supplies of men arriving in the Indies from Europe, have not, for several years past, been found to bring with them those healthy constitutions, which they did half a century ago. The continual encreasing dearth of provisions in Europe, since the year 1740, has, as is naturally the case, most affected the lowest classes of society, who have, in consequence, been obliged to take up with coarser and less nourishing food, which must undeniably have a proportionate prejudicial effect upon their animal frame. These, for no other sort of people, a very few excepted, take service with the
Company,

Company, when conveyed on board of the ships, deteriorate their constitutions, which have been already fundamentally shaken, by the hardships which accompany a sea life, the close and narrow places where they are lodged, and the melancholy with which most of them are attacked, on account of leaving their native country.

Arriving thus at *Batavia*, the most unwholesome spot that could be pitched on, with a broken constitution, which has received new shocks from their long voyage, it can scarcely be expected, when to this is added, a scanty and insipid diet, to which they are unaccustomed, consisting of rice and some dried fish, together with the extreme plenty and cheapness of fruit, and the easy access to strong liquors, that they should long survive the fatal moment when they first set foot on this dangerous shore. This is so far as it regards those who have engaged as soldiers.

But it is not only from the military, that the muster-rolls of death are swelled: the same mortality likewise takes place among the seafaring part of the Company's servants; yet the above is not so much, in every re-

spect, applicable to those who are really seamen, and having from their youth been bred up to the profession, have, in general, subsisted upon better food, and have acquired a more hardy temperament, but, with respect to those who are merely nominal sailors, and who have never before stood upon a deck, who constitute the greatest number of the mariners in the employ of the Company, these, I say, must be looked upon as on an equality with the soldiers.

Thus, when it is said that the mortality is general, both in the military and marine departments of the Company's establishment, it must be considered, that the greatest number of the individuals engaged in the sea-service, consist of such as differ from the military, upon their first coming on board, in nothing than in name. Many years ago, a sufficient number of able seamen could be procured, not to be compelled to have recourse to landsmen for filling up a ship's complement; but, ever since the year 1740, the many naval wars, the great encrease of trade and navigation, particularly in many countries, where formerly these pursuits were little attended to, and the consequent great
and

and continual demands for able seamen, both for ships of war, and for merchantmen, have so considerably diminished the supply of them, that, in our own country, where there formerly used to be a great abundance of mariners, it is now, with great difficulty and expence, that any vessel can procure a proper number of able hands to navigate her.

Many people, who have never visited the countries between the tropics, and are too apt to credit the misrepresentations of travellers, have been led to believe, that excessive heat is the cause of the unhealthiness of *Batavia*; but the healthiness of many other countries, where the same degree of heat prevails, is proof enough of the contrary. At *Surat*, and in *Bengal*, which are esteemed the most salubrious parts of India, I have more than once found the thermometer of Fahrenheit rise above 100° in the months of March and April, while at *Batavia* I have seldom seen it higher than 90° , and generally below that point; which is a degree of heat that is not unusual even in our own country: and this is moreover considerably mitigated by the refreshing land and sea-

breezes, returning alternately at stated hours in regular rotation; the sea-breeze begins about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and blows the strongest from two to five o'clock in the afternoon, while at eight or nine o'clock in the evening, the land-wind commences, and continues throughout the night, and till seven or eight o'clock in the morning.

The intermediate calms, however, taking place before these breezes relieve each other, are not wholesome. The stagnation of the atmosphere at those times, and especially in the evening, before the land-wind begins to blow, and when the vapours exhaled during the heat of the day hang low over the earth, is hurtful to respiration, and the evening-air is, in consequence, more especially pernicious at *Batavia*. Yet many of the inhabitants are, nevertheless, accustomed to sit out of doors in the evening, because the warmth within surpasses that without.

There may, perhaps, be other causes, besides the various disadvantageous circumstances attending the local situation and actual state of the city, above adduced, which may give occasion to the prevailing disorder
and

and great degree of mortality that have, for these many years past, been observed at *Batavia*, and which are either not yet discovered, or cannot be pointed out with sufficient accuracy of proof; for this is certain, that many of the circumstances here enumerated, were in existence at those times, when the city was not reckoned a more unhealthy place of abode than any other, situated under the same climate.

An unusual degree of mortality first made its appearance in the year 1733, and in that, and the five following years, the deaths amounted annually to more than two thousand among the free merchants, or burghers, and Company's servants, and full fifteen hundred slaves besides.

From 1739 to 1743, the mortality was not quite so great; for I find that, in those five years, no more than five thousand five hundred and sixty-two of the Company's servants, died in the hospitals, whereas the number amounted, in the preceding five years, to eight thousand two hundred and eighty-six; but it afterwards encreased again, so that from 1744 to 1771, the deaths in the hospitals alone (into which, by the
bye,

bye, no others are admitted than such as are in the Company's service, and of these only the common soldiers and sailors, who have not money to provide themselves with better accommodation, are the only persons who avail of them) amounted in number, to forty-eight thousand and thirty-six. In the year 1769 alone, there died, both in the hospitals and out of them :

2,434	of the Company's servants,
164	burghers,
681	native christians,
833	Mahomedans,
1,331	slaves, and
1,003	Chinese.

6,446 together.

And of the latter the number may at least be augmented by one-third, as so much may be taken for the deaths that are concealed, in order to avoid payment of the tax imposed upon funerals; and the numbers mentioned above, are only such as have been declared.

The dead, in the hospitals, amounted, from the beginning of July, 1775, to the end

end of July, 1776, to the number of two thousand five hundred and ninety-five*.

On

* The following is a correct list of the numbers that have died in the hospitals at *Batavia*, from the year 1714 to 1776, viz.

Year	Dead	Year	Dead	Year	Dead
1714	459	1735	1568	1756	1487
1715	469	1736	1574	1757	1441
1716	453	1737	1993	1758	1638
1717	494	1738	1776	1759	1237
1718	591	1739	998	1760	1317
1719	660	1740	1124	1761	1000
1720	750	1741	1075	1762	1390
1721	614	1742	1082	1763	1750
1722	730	1743	1283	1764	1757
1723	657	1744	1595	1765	1754
1724	769	1745	1604	1766	2039
1725	925	1746	1565	1767	2404
1726	904	1747	1881	1768	1833
1727	676	1748	1261	1769	1742
1728	656	1749	1478	1770	2434
1729	626	1750	2035	1771	2480
1730	671	1751	1969	1772	2066
1731	780	1752	1601	1773	1187
1732	781	1753	1618	1774	1957
1733	1116	1754	1517	1775	2788
1734	1375	1755	2109	1776	2877

It was in 1733, that canals were chiefly begun to be dug around *Batavia*, by which the water was diverted from taking its course through the city, and from that time, the number of dead has constantly encreased. In 1744, a second hospital was erected by Governor VAN IMHOFF, and in order to defray the

On making a comparison between the number of deaths, and the remaining servants of the Company, at *Batavia*, and those at the other settlements, it appears, that out of five thousand four hundred and ninety Europeans, who were present at *Batavia*, according to the annual muster, on the 30th of June, 1768 (of which number, however, one thousand three hundred and thirty-eight, were patients in the hospitals), two thousand four hundred and thirty-four died in the space of the ensuing twelve months: and that the number of the Company's servants, at all the out-settlements, was found equally, on the last day of June of the same year,

the expences, the regulation was introduced in both hospitals, that the wages of all the sick who were admitted into them, should be withheld from them, while they were under cure, and applied to the benefit of the institutions, whence, it is said, many more patients died from the chagrin this regulation caused them; and we accordingly see that that, and the succeeding years, are marked with a greater mortality than before. In 1761, they began to flow in the hospital, without the city, more sick people than the two hundred convalescents, who were formerly attended there; and the years immediately following, shew another period of encrease. In 1775 an hospital ship was laid up in the road, in consequence of which, as well in that as in the next year, the number of dead was greater than ever. T.

according

according to muster, to amount to fourteen thousand four hundred and seventy Europeans; of whom, one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven died in the year following: whence it appears, that the proportion of the dead to the living, is, at *Batavia*, as twelve to twenty-seven, which is almost one-half, and at the out-settlements, as eleven to one hundred, or something less than one-ninth. The Company, therefore, lose, in general, every year, one sixth part* of their servants. And they experienced a loss, in the same proportion, during the same period of twelve months, upon the crews of thirty-seven ships navigating in India; and of the crews of twenty-seven ships that sailed from Europe, in 1768-1769, which altogether amounted, by their muster-rolls, to five thousand nine hundred and seventy-one hands, the number of dead was nine hundred and fifty-nine, which is equally very near to one in six.

This comparison may certainly appear

* If out of 5,490 at *Batavia*, there died 2,434
and out of 14,470 at the out-factories . 1,637

then out of 19,960, the whole number . 4,071 died in one
year, which is full one-fifth, instead of one-sixth. T.

in

in different lights in different years, but not so much so, but that this calculation may in general be taken for what has, for several years past, been the result that has been annually experienced.

Even if no wars occur, by which the number of those in the pay of the Company may be diminished, the extraordinary mortality above stated, is alone sufficient entirely to depopulate, in time, the Company's settlements; for, supposing that all the Company's European servants in the Indies, including those in the civil, and in the military departments, together with the crews of thirty-seven ships employed in the country-trade, each taken at one hundred and sixty-five men, amount, together, to twenty-six thousand; of these, one sixth part annually die off, is 4,333

And, supposing that *Batavia* receives an annual reinforcement from Holland, by twenty-seven ships, each calculated at two hundred and fifty men, of 6,750

from which must be deducted, for each ship, returning to Europe, and carrying

back,

back, upon an average, one (4,334)
 hundred and fifteen men a-
 piece, for twenty-four ships 2,760

Remain at *Batavia* 3,990

343

so that the supply falls short every year, at least, three hundred and forty-three men *. This is not, however, an insurmountable annual deficiency; it might be overcome, and the loss of men would not appear so visible, were the supply of people from Europe more regular, and were it but maintained upon the footing which I have stated; but how often does it not happen, that, in the room of two hundred and fifty men, as I have supposed to be brought by each ship, scarcely two hundred, and even less, arrive at *Batavia*? There have even been years,

* From the last note, it appears, that this calculation should be formed by taking one-fifth of the landmen, and one-sixth of the seamen, in the Company's Indian service, or, out of about 20,000 landmen, 4,000 dead and out of about 6,000 seamen, 1,000 thus making the yearly loss by death, about 5000, instead of 4,333; and the supply being only 3,990, the annual deficiency is about 1000, instead of only 343. T.

not long since, that out of upwards of eight thousand hands, shipped in the space of one twelvemonth, by the outwardbound India-ships, not four thousand have reached *Batavia*, in which years, the Company's Indian settlements have accordingly experienced an annual defalcation of three thousand men. And when to this is superadded the casualties of war, such as the Company are at present engaged in, in the island of *Celebes*, and on the coast of *Malabar*, together with the difficulty of raising the complement of men in Holland, to be able to send out the ships at their proper time, duly manned, the dismal aspect of the Company's present situation will not require a more convincing proof.

CHAPTER VII.

General Review of the Decline in the Company's Affairs.—Recapitulation of the Receipts and Expenditure of each Settlement.—General Statement, &c.—Reflections on the Decayed State of the Company.*

WERE the prosperity of the East-India Company only in a state of decline, from the circumstances we have mentioned, hopes might be entertained of relief and restoration. A fortunate chance of war, or a favourable peace in Europe, might afford sufficient opportunities of engaging men
enough

* As this chapter is devoted to a general consideration of the affairs of the Company, it may not be amiss to insert here, a recapitulation of the receipts and expenditure of all the establishments of the Dutch East-India Company; the former, comprizing their territorial revenues, and profits upon the country-trade; and the latter, all the expences of each establishment *per se*, taken from the books of the year 1779, that is, from the first of September, 1778, to the 31st of August, 1779: the order in which the establishments are placed, is that in which they are arranged in the books of

enough to supply, in a very ample manner, the deficiency of people now laboured under.

But

the Company, and we have distinguished those actually known to be in the hands of the English by the mark †.

	Charges.	Expenditure.
<i>Jaccatra, including Batavia</i>	<i>f.1,820,327</i>	<i>f.2,384,930</i>
† <i>Anbonya</i>	48,747	201,082
† <i>Banda</i>	9,350	146,170
<i>Ternate</i>	114,997	229,406
<i>Macassar</i>	63,190	163,137
<i>Timor</i>	13,619	11,712
<i>Banjermaffing</i>		12,091
<i>Palembang</i>	3,922	49,677
<i>Japan</i>	106,802	96,356
† <i>Malacca</i>	162,520	113,235
† <i>Padang</i>	74,577	53,675
† <i>Bengal</i>	385,159	265,517
† <i>Coromandel</i>	427,131	452,133
† <i>Ceylon</i>	611,704	1,243,038
† <i>Malabar</i>	414,977	489,645
† <i>Surat</i>	283,207	
† <i>Cape of Good Hope</i>	195,168	505,269
<i>Java's north-east coast</i>	436,874	281,873
<i>Ciberibon</i>	35,761	12,584
<i>Baniam</i>		78,262
<i>Landak and Succadana</i>	1,764	9,726
Total	<i>f.5,209,796</i>	<i>f.6,799,518</i>
		<i>5,209,796</i>

leaving an exceedent in the charges of . *f.1,589,722*

or

But many other circumstances concur, if not to render the restoration of the Company's affairs

or 144,520*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* sterling. The Indian possessions of the Company were not always a charge upon them; in 1689, the balance, drawn in the same manner, was on the other side, and shewed a favourable surplus of *f.*937,361. 10. 5 (85,214*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*); and in 1744, an advance appeared of *f.*779,056. (70,823*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*). MOSSEL, to whom we have so frequently had occasion to refer, calculated, in his time (1753), the whole yearly receipts at *f.*8,791,000, and the expenditure of *f.*6,517,500, which would leave a favourable surplus of *f.*2,273,500 (about £.206,680 sterling), and which is amazingly different from the later results. The deficiency is supplied by drafts from India, upon the direction in Holland; and, together with various other objects, the expences of equipping twenty-five or thirty ships annually, the payment of the wages and premiums (see page 370, of vol. I.), to the returning crews, the salaries of the directors, and expences of the administration at home, the dividends to the proprietors, &c. form the general debit of the Company, against the profits upon the merchandize they dispose of in Europe. These gains have been calculated, upon an average, at from ten to eleven millions of guilders, or about one million sterling, per annum; and this computation appears to be just, from the following statement of the invoice-prices, and net proceeds, of the cargoes received from India, for the ten years, from 1750 to 1759, viz.

Years.	Ships.	Invoices.	Sales.
1750 . .	22 .	<i>f.</i> 7,372,177 .	<i>f.</i> 19,024,209
1751 . .	24 .	9,630,682 .	16,670,614
1752 . .	20 .	7,883,361 .	23,133,580
1753 . .	22 .	10,259,866 .	17,317,037
1754 . .	22 .	8,859,297 .	19,840,766

affairs, a matter of impossibility, at least, to afford the most unfavourable prospects respecting them.

It is not only for a few years past, that the decline of this great body has been manifest, but from much earlier times: "It cannot, by any means, be denied," says Mr. VAN IMHOF, in his *Considerations* of the year 1742, "that the present state of the East-India Company wears a much more disadvantageous aspect, and is not, by far,

Years.	Ships.	Invoices.	Sales.
1755 . . 22 .	9,652,485 . .	19,806,077	
1756 . . 25 .	8,421,419 . .	19,890,066	
1757 . . 26 .	8,935,720 . .	14,829,367	
1758 . . 22 .	6,506,717 . .	18,934,386	
1759 . . 28 .	8,437,469 . .	18,817,328	

We further, on this subject, refer the curious reader to the statements contained in the appendix: viz. No. IV. An account of the returns made to Holland, from the Indies, from the time they first traded thither, down to the year 1721. V. An account of the ships sent out, their crews, the specie they carried, the ships returned, the proceeds of the sales, and the dividends on the stock, from 1720 to 1729. VI. A statement of the capital stock of the Company, and of the respective proportions in which each of the six chambers were originally interested in it. VII. An account of the dividends from 1605 to 1780, and of the revolutions in their value, from 1723 to 1780; and, VIII. A statement of the various articles, and quantities of each, sold at the Dutch East-India sales from 1775 to 1779. T.

" in

“ in so flourishing a condition, as in former “ times”. Mr. MOSSEL writes to the same effect, in the year 1752; and very little reflection is required, at present, to discover that, in the year 1777, the situation of the Company has, in the last five-and-twenty years, become much worse; and that their affairs threaten a disastrous termination at no very distant period, if more effectual measures of redress are not suggested, and resorted to, than those which have hitherto been employed.

The common course of events, in this world, teaches us, both from ancient and from modern history, that there have been, or are, no empires, states, republics, or public bodies, but what have all, after reaching the summit of their greatness, declined considerably, though the one more than the other, in power and consideration, without that the means which have been resorted to, have ever had the wished-for effect, of wholly preventing their ruin; and it has been fortunate, when, acting as palliatives, they have served to procrastinate the fall. These vicissitudes must be ascribed to the inscrutable designs of Providence; and

it should seem, that, by them, the Ruler of the universe hath, for the accomplishment of his allwise purposes, intended to manifest to mankind the utter instability of every thing in this sublunary world.

The primary causes, which sap the foundations of a state or society, whilst in its most flourishing vigour, and pave the way for its decline and fall, are very seldom known. The seemingly unimportant commencements of ruin, are nearly undiscernible, and they do not appear, till long afterwards, and when the evil is so deeply rooted, and has raised itself to a height visible to all, while it is likewise, in general, too late to remedy it; or if some appearances of the latent source of ruin be discovered, the fatal consequences that may arise from it, are seldom duly appreciated. In this, the body politic resembles the animal frame, and is like a man in the bloom of life, who, enjoying an uninterrupted state of health, possessed of a firm and unshaken constitution, pays no regard to the first invidious attacks of a slight indisposition, which he presumes will easily be overcome by the natural strength of his constitution; till, too late, he finds, that, with
unmarked,

unmarked, but hideous strides, the direful disease has advanced beyond the grasp of medicine, and at length bids bold defiance to every attempt of nature, or of art, to check its fatal progress.

The evil which has its origin in the constitution of the body politic itself, is irresistibly augmented, when accidental extraneous circumstances concur to drag to perdition, the state or institution which thus totters on its base.

Both the interior leaven of corruption, and external adventitious evils, have taken place, and still exist, with regard to the Company.

On the latter I shall not insist, they are evident to every eye; with respect to the former, I place the first germination of those seeds of destruction, in the period, when the conquest of countries, and the encrease of territory, were more the objects of the Company's attention, than the prosecution, increase, or improvement, of their commerce and navigation; and this period is, in my opinion, to be defined, as having chiefly existed from the year 1660 to 1670, during which time, it was, that the Company made themselves masters of the Portuguese establishments

blishments on the *Malabar* coast, and of the island of *Celebes*, both which acquisitions cost them a great expence of blood, and incalculable treasures, and have never been of any other than an imaginary advantage to their interests.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from BATAVIA.—Passage through the Southern Indian Ocean.—Observations respecting the Variation of the Compass.—View of the Land of AFRICA.—Anchorage under ROBBEN-island.—Driven out to Sea again.—Arrival in TABLE-bay.

THE crew of my ship, being mustered, was found to consist of one hundred and twenty hands, including the passengers; but there were very few able seamen among them, and they mostly consisted of mere boys, and were, besides, in a sickly condition.

We left the road of *Batavia*, on the 19th of November, anchoring at noon under the island *Onrust*, and the next day near the island *Middleburgh*, where the ship *Oost-Capelle*, coming from *Ceylon*, passed by us, bringing intelligence from the coast of *Malabar*, that all was there in perfect tranquillity, and that the disputes between the
Company

Company and HYDER ALI, had been accommodated.

As the monsoon had already broke up, and the westerly winds blew hard every day, it was the 25th, of that month, before we got as far as *Bantam*, whence we crossed over to the coast of *Sumatra*, and anchored, the following day, under *North-island*, in order to avail of the northwest winds, which generally blow at this time of the year, to keep the shore of *Sumatra* on board, to starboard, and to clear the land, by preserving the passage to windward of *Prince's-island*. But we waited, in vain, for three days for such an opportunity, as the wind came from the west and southwest, whereby we were obliged to cross over again to the *Java* shore, and to work up along it, out to sea. We found the Company's ship *Hookwerf*, that had sailed from *Batavia* on the 8th of November, still at anchor here.

At length, on the 5th of December, we got, in company with that ship, to windward of *Prince's-island*, and, clearing the straits of *Sunda*, out to sea; but it was not till the 7th, that we took our last observation of the land of *Java*, and lost sight of it. On the
9th

9th we lost sight of the ship *Hoolwerf*; and on the 11th, we met with the regular south-east tradewind, in the south latitude of 10° , whence we set our courses to run to the eastward of the *Cocoa*-islands, and afterwards, according to the Company's sailing-orders, w.s.w. till in south latitude $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and longitude 77° ; then w. by s. till in $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south latitude, and longitude 60° ; then again w.s.w. till in the latitude of Cape *Anguillas*; and lastly, west, in order to strike foundings on the reef, and run in sight of land.

When in the latitude of *Madagascar*, we met with a violent storm from the north-east, the wind veering afterwards through east to south, and farther on to west, which, in these seas, very seldom happens, as the winds generally chop about, in a contrary direction, and run through the north to southwest.

The greatest variations of the compasses, which we observed, were 27° and 28° n.w. in the south latitude of $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and between the longitudes of 56° and 45° , whence they became less, till within sight
of

of Cape *Anguillas*, when the variation was $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

It appears from the observations of navigators, that the line of the greatest variation of the compass gradually removes from east to west, and is every year found to be more westerly than the preceding; at *Surat*, for instance, there was, a hundred years ago, a northwesterly variation of 7° or 8° , and now no more than $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, at the highest, is observable: and in the same way, in sight of the *Cape of Good Hope*, the variation has increased, in the space of the last twenty years, from 18° or 19° , to full 21° .

On the morning of the 4th of February, at sunrise, we saw land, which we supposed was that of *Africa*, appearing in one round hummock; and a better view of it in the evening, together with our striking soundings on the reef, first in seventy-seven, and afterwards in fifty fathoms water, rendered it certain. On the 6th, we made Cape *Anguillas*, and the next day, both the east and west points of *Falſe-bay*; and we found ourselves twenty-five leagues more to the eastward than by the ship's reckoning.

The wind being fair that day, we flattered

tered ourselves with the hope, that we should reach *Table-bay* in the evening, and at eight o'clock, we were so far advanced, that we only were in want of one hour's continuation of the favourable opportunity which we then had, to accomplish our desires; but we were unfortunately first becalmed for a whole hour, and afterwards driven, on a sudden, so far from the shore, out to sea, by a violent flaw of wind from the south-east, which burst upon us with dreadful force, from over the tops of the mountains, under the lee of which we lay driving without a breath of air, that we lost all hope of gaining the road that bout.

This hard gale from the south-east, lasted for several days, till at length it gradually fell away; and the wind coming round to the south-west, afforded us an opportunity, on the 15th of February, of approaching the shore, and we were within half a league of the road, when the south-east wind again burst upon us, and frustrated our attempts a second time, yet it did not now blow with such fury, but that we were enabled to reach the road of *Robben*, or *Seal* island, where

where we let drop our anchor, at eight o'clock, P.M.

The next day, the post-keeper of the island came on board of us, and brought with him a refreshment of twelve sheep and some greens.

We were forced to remain at anchor here, for this and the next day, on account of the continuing southeast wind, which encreased to such a degree, on the evening of the 17th, that the cable of our best bower broke, and our sheet-anchor coming home, we were again driven to leeward. Against this adverse fortune we had no remedy but patience, and perseverance, in struggling, as much as possible, against the raging southeast wind, and we continued beating up, in hopes of a favourable change, in which we were long disappointed; and though, on the 4th of March, we again made the *Table-mountain*, yet we could not reach the road, but were anew compelled, by the hard southeast wind, to come to an anchor, in the evening, under *Robben-island*. On the following day, at eleven o'clock, A.M. a westerly breeze sprung up, and we instantly weighed anchor, and steered for the
road

road of the *Cape*, where we cast anchor at two o'clock, P.M. saluting the road with eleven guns. We found lying here, the flagship of the return-fleet, the *Breedenhof*, Captain LEONARD VAN COOPSTAD, who had been driven from her anchors from under *Robben-island*, three weeks before us, and, after beating about for twenty days, had at last succeeded in getting into the road.

Having moored the ship in safety, I went on shore, in order to pay my respects to the governor, and to transact what business I had to do here.

CHAPTER IX.

Temperature of the Air at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—Tides.—Soil.—Water.—Disorders.—Character of the Inhabitants of CAPETOWN.—Their selfish Disposition.—Their deceitful Hospitality.—Little or no Education among them.—Accomplishments and Blandishments of the Ladies.—Their further Character.—Contrasted with the genuine Hospitality, and open, ingenuous Disposition of the Farmers, or Country-colonists.

IN the further account which I now intend giving of the *Cape of Good Hope*, I shall not enlarge much concerning it, and what is remarkable about it, as I have, in the account of my former voyage, and in the beginning of this, been ample on the subject; and I shall therefore confine myself to such new observations as presented themselves to me, or to what I before omitted to mention.

The temperature of the air is not only very different in the good, and in the bad monsoon,

monsoon, but likewise varies considerably at different times of the same day, in proportion as the cold southeast wind blows more or less hard; the thermometer rising sometimes 7° or 8° , upon the wind falling: in the summer, it is generally between 72° and 80° . Sometimes, before sunrise, a thick and damp fog comes on, which makes it very cold, in general coming with a westerly or southerly wind; upon which not unfrequently follows, a day or two afterwards, a stiff gale from the southeast. The tide rises twice in the twenty-four hours. Full and new moon make it high water at three o'clock; and it generally rises and falls five feet.

The whole shore, from above, or west of the town, to past the *Zoute*, or *Salt-river*, is lined with rocks, most of which appear above water at the time of ebb. Between these, and farther to seaward, are produced a considerable quantity of those marine productions which our seamen call trumpets*, and which occasion a very disagreeable smell in the town, in warm weather.

The soil around the *Cape* is, for the most

* *Fucus buccinalis*.

part, of a stony nature : under the first stratum of earth appears a bed of rock, from five to six feet deep, which when cut through, or blown up, shews, in many places, a hard whitish clay, which has something of a gritty, or stony texture.

The water, which the inhabitants drink, and with which the ships that touch here are supplied, proceeds from a spring, situated about half an hour's walk from the town, at the foot of the *Table-mountain*, in a piece of ground, which, from its owner, is called *the Garden of Breda*, not far from the Company's garden* ; it is inclosed in a wall, with a little door, or window, in the front, in order to keep the water from dirt and

* No. IX. in the Appendix, contains an abstract of the Latin descriptions, in the *Herbarius Frons*, or Herbal, of OLDELAND, who was superintendant of the Company's garden at the Cape, in the year 1695 : this herbal extended to fourteen large folios : and the Flora of the Cape, then known, is sufficiently indicative of the vast botanical treasures which this country affords, and which, in later times, have exercised the diligence and abilities of SPAREMAN, THUNBERG, PATERSON, &c. It will not be an uninteresting task to the practical botanist, to compare the modern researches of those gentlemen, with this curious specimen of the diligence and science of the last century. 7.

impurity ; it is thence led to the town, through wooden pipes, which lie three feet, and, in some spots, six feet, under the ground, in order the better to preserve it.

The disorders which are most prevalent here, are those that may be denominated rheumatic ; they proceed from the inconstancy of the weather, and are most rife when the south-east wind prevails.

Although the first colonists here were composed of various nations, they are, by the operation of time, now so thoroughly blended together, that they are not to be distinguished from each other ; even most of such as have been born in Europe, and who have resided here for some years, have, in a manner, changed their national character, for that of this country.

There are few European, or Indian, women here ; and those of them that do live here, dress, in general, according to the customs of their native country.

Wherever I speak of the general character, and manners, of the inhabitants of the *Cape*, the country-people, or farmers, must not be included, who, in many respects, are very different, and I mean only

the inhabitants of the town, or chief settlement.

The chief trait in their character, which appears the most evident to a stranger, after a little reflection, is the love of money ; and this is so palpable and universal amongst them, both in men and women, that one must be more than prejudiced in their favour, to attempt to deny it. Flattering words, insinuating caresses, the allurements of friendship, love, and hospitality, nought is omitted, or neglected, that can contribute to gain the hearts and insure the confidence of the wandering strangers who touch at the *Cape* ; this appears to me the probable reason, why most people, who have been here once or twice, and have, without reflection, taken the base metal of self-interest for the sterling gold of unfeigned courtesy and friendship, are so profuse in their encomiums on the *Cape*, as if it were the most agreeable abode upon earth, and the center of every satisfaction.

But view the other side of the picture, and examine into the principles, and motives, which give rise to this abundance of allurements ; and the promotion of self-interest

interest will appear to be the main spring that excites this exercise of seeming hospitality.

A consequence, which naturally flows herefrom, is the mutual envy which they cherish towards each other, especially towards those that prosper, either in trade, or in accommodating strangers with board and lodging, by which most of the inhabitants of the *Cape* earn their subsistence.

These views, as before said, are common to both sexes. With respect to the individual character of the men : they are remarkably distinguishable from those who inhabit the polished parts of Europe, by an utter ignorance of whatever does not daily strike their outward senses; exclusive of this, they can form no ideas; abstract speculations are unknown to them; and they do not possess any inclination to exercise their understanding by reading, or to become acquainted with the manners and customs of other civilized people, and to reform their own.

The love of repose and inactivity, or, indeed, what may be denominated laziness, they have in common with the orientals;

and they delight in a state of ease and sloth, to a degree that would not be expected, from a people, inhabiting a temperate climate.

The ladies, on the contrary, are by no means deficient in life and spirits; and nature may, with justice, be said to have been more liberal to them than to their male companions, although much of their vivacity and pleasingness may be ascribed to education. The mothers endeavour to instil into the tender bosoms of their daughters, from their earliest youth, the idea that they are formed to please the other sex; and the first lesson they learn, is how to make themselves agreeable to the men, and especially to strangers. The aids of ornament and dress, are not neglected; and no expence, that the parents can afford, is spared, to give them every accomplishment. Music, dancing, singing, whatever can add grace to the lustre of beauty, nothing is omitted that can render them elegant and attractive. When they have passed the years of childhood, and enter upon the condition of spinsters, or as soon as they enter their teens, they are taught to be free and unreserved

unreserved in their manner, and caressing in their conversation. Their endeavours seldom fail of success: a few innocent liberties granted to their temporary lovers, are the means of cementing their conquests, and of retaining the homage of their adorers, at least as long as the ship lies in the road; and it does not unfrequently happen, that the passing seaman forms an attachment here, that leads to a matrimonial connection, before he is himself aware of the circumstance.

Unfortunately, however, most of these amiable and lovely girls, are no sooner married, and get children, than they become gross and corpulent, and lose those charms, which captivated all hearts, and secured them a husband; they lose, at the same time, their attention to neatness in dressing, which they always assiduously cultivate before marriage.

When they are met with early in the morning, in their houses, their slovenliness is immediately apparent; and those who might, the evening before, be viewed with pleasure, now become objects of disgust.

The fathers do not take the smallest

trouble to instruct their sons in any thing. What the children learn in their schools, they seem to think a sufficient stock of knowledge to last them during their whole lives. Few give themselves any trouble to afford them any other opportunities of improvement; others have not the means; and others are too fond, to suffer their children to go to a more civilized country, for obtaining a better education.

The number of the inhabitants, therefore, is augmented, but not the number of useful members of society; neither do the mechanical, or the fine arts, make any progress here. Young people marry early, get children, and resort to the same means of maintaining a family, as most others, namely, the keeping of a lodging and boarding-house for strangers; when these go away, the family live as well as they can, and as sparingly as possible, till others arrive: and the cheapness of provisions encourages this mode of life above all things. The men are devoid both of sufficient courage and emulation to seek, or better, their fortunes, in the naval or military service; perhaps these professions are too repugnant to their

so beloved repose, and usual easy life. What utility the encrease of a population, of such a description, can bring to the public, in general, or to the improvement of the colony, in particular, may easily be conceived; and such an encrease ought not, therefore, to be looked upon as a progressive promotion of the general welfare.

It is very differently situated with respect to the country-people, or farmers. Their wives are no less prolific than those of the inhabitants of *Capetown*. Their children are brought up in the occupation of their parents; if their land is not large enough to afford a proper portion to each of their children, extensive, and yet uncultivated, tracts of country, wait only to open their fertile bosoms to whoever will bestow upon them the labour of tillage. These agriculturists, instead of being a burthen upon society, augment the numbers and importance of that respectable body of men, from whose labour arises originally the prosperity of every country.

The character of these people is likewise very different; an ingenuous cordiality, which visibly proceeds from the heart,
makes

makes them fulfil the duties of hospitality and humanity, without any motives of selfishness to spur them on : their words may be confided in ; to break their word, or to act deceitfully, with any one, is unknown among them, at least amongst by far the greatest portion of these happy rustics.

CHAPTER X.

Extent of the Colony.—Productions.—Corn.—Rapacity of the Company's Servants towards the Farmers.—Price of Wheat to the Company.—Tithes paid in Kind at the Town.—Reflections respecting the Encouragement of Agriculture, and the Exportation of Produce.—Respecting the Government.—Reform obviously necessary.—Discovery of a large and navigable River in the interior Parts, by Colonel GORDON.—Account of the Country, Temperature, Animals, &c. in that Neighbourhood.

THE extent of the colony is very great, and the bounds are removed at pleasure; so that the exact line of demarcation between the territory of the Dutch, and that of the native inhabitants, is not easy to be found out, or laid down. But this large district is very far from being entirely composed of pasture-grounds, and arable land; only the smallest part of it is adapted to those purposes, because the valleys, and most of the flat country, have little or no water; it is, therefore,

therefore, only at the foot, or on the sides, of the hills, where the farmer is enabled to prosecute, with advantage, the cultivation of corn, and of the vine, that farms have been laid out; and to these must always be adjoined, a large extent of pasture-ground for the cattle, which must equally, in order to avoid the want of water, be situated near the hills. This is the reason that the farms lie at a great distance from each other, and a countryman sometimes calls another his next neighbour, who lives one or two leagues off: the farther you go inland, the greater intervals of uncultivated country occur between the farms.

By this means, every family, centering, as it were, within itself, approaches, in time, and in proportion as they are at a greater distance from the *Cape*, to the simplicity of nature; so that even the farthest settlers, who reside thirty or forty days' journey from *Capetown*, more resemble Hottentots than the posterity of Europeans. Captain GORDON, who returned from one of his journies, when I was here, told me, that they even went dressed in the Hottentot fashion.

The productions which this part of Africa yields, are, corn*, wine, butter, and tallow. Corn, and especially wheat, is now produced in considerable quantities, and would, perhaps, be more and more productive, if proper measures were resorted to, to encourage the cultivation, and to remove the obstacles which operate to restrain its extension.

* The kind of corn, most generally cultivated, is wheat; and it richly repays the labour of the husbandman. Wheat yields, in general, an increase of eight and ten, and frequently fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five for one: in many places, it is said, the produce is still more abundant; in the neighbourhood of *Miscele-bay*, where, however, little wheat is sown, the soil is said to be so fertile, that every grain always produces several ears; frequently twenty, nay, as far as eighty ears, proceeding from one root. Dr. THUNBERG, who conceived this to be scarcely credible, counted them himself in the field, and found that a great many ears had frequently sprung up from a single grain, though the highest number he met with, amounted to no more than forty-one. (See pages 70 and 78, of vol. II.) Barley is cultivated chiefly for the horses, and is mowed once or oftener, before it is in the ear, and given to them for provender. Rye is scarcely ever sown, except in small quantities for pleasure, or by some farmer who chooses to use the straw for thatching. The oats brought to the Cape from Europe, are looked upon as the worst of weeds; as the grains are easily shaken out of the ears by the violence of the wind, and sowing themselves, choke up all the other corn. It is to no purpose to lay a piece of land, so spoiled, fallow for several years, for when the field comes to be ploughed up, the oats, having lain unhurt in the ground, shoot up afresh. &c.

I have

I have before detailed what the country-people told me on this subject, founded on their experience; and what the obstacles were, which stood in the way of the cultivation of wheat; I shall not, therefore, repeat it here, but merely add, that many are averse to the delivery of their corn to the Company, and that this is even sometimes rendered impossible to them, by the rapaciousness of the Company's servants at the *Cape*.

Not satisfied with the twenty pounds furplus-weight, allowed them upon every *mud*, which the farmer must deliver at the rate of one hundred and eighty pounds, and which the receivers deliver again to the Company at only one hundred and sixty pounds, the farmers must, besides, fill their hands, in order to be allowed to deliver their corn to the Company: and the same takes place with respect to the wine: this can be done by those who are persons of property, and who do not live far from *Cape-town*, where the corn must be delivered, but not by those whose farms lie farther inland, and many days' journey off, on account of the expences of conveyance. For each wag-

gon-load, reckoned at ten *mud*, or $\frac{10}{17}$ of a last, the Company pay eighteen rixdollars, or *f*.43. 4 *. If one or more oxen chance to die during the passage, or any accident happens to the waggon, the whole of what the poor farmer would have to receive for his corn, is lost; and those who live at a distance from the *Cape*, and are possessed of a little property, can not carry on the cultivation of grain in a greater proportion than what they want for the consumption of their own family.

There is another thing that is very oppressive to the farmer, and especially to those who live far off; namely, that they are obliged to convey the tithes of their grain, which are due to the Company, as to the proprietors of the soil, to the *Cape*, at their own risk and expence, without any consideration, how far their farm may lay, or how difficult the roads over the mountains may be; in which, sometimes, the corn is forced to be unloaded from the waggon, and carried on the backs of oxen, through defiles, and over precipices, for

* Equal to about 20*s*. sterling per quarter, English. Twenty-seven *mud* make a last of Amsterdam, which is equal to about 10½ quarters. T.

more than one or two leagues, because a loaded waggon cannot pass through such ways, or, at most, only with half a load, or one of five *mud*, at a time.

It is, therefore, not enough to have sought a vent for the productions of this colony, above what are required for its own consumption, or the occasional supply of the vessels that touch here, in order to render it more flourishing; but the agricultural interest ought first to have been put upon a better footing; the farmer ought to have been liberated from those galling bonds which discourage his industry; better opportunities for the interior conveyance of his produce ought first to have been provided; granaries for depositing it, ought to have been established in different parts; and, finally, the rapacity of the receivers at the *Cape* ought to be curbed, and put a stop to.

The direction at home have certainly considered the corn-trade of the *Cape*, in another point of view; and seem to have been misled by the plausibility of a new plan (although it was before suggested, in the year 1753, by Governor MOSSEL, in his *Memorial of the State of India*), grounded upon

upon statements, which, perhaps, shewed every thing in the most favourable light, and which promised to afford immediate fruits, although the seeds of it were not yet sown.

I allude to the promises, or assertions, that were made, that the wheat might be provided for the low price of thirty-six guilders per last, and that contracts for such delivery might be entered into; it being pretended to be known, as a certainty, that, in the year before (1771), wheat had been sold at the rate of nine rixdollars of forty-eight stivers, per last.

I made enquiries among the farmers, and especially among those who had, for many years, frequented, or resided at, the town, both respecting the price of the wheat, and that of the tallow, as it was alleged that a hundred pounds of candles had been sold for five guilders; and all of them declared to me, that they never knew wheat to have been cheaper than nine or ten rixdollars, say from *f.*20 to *f.*24 per waggon-load of ten *mud*, or eighteen hundred pounds weight *; but that this had continued but a very short

* Equal to 10s. or 11s. sterling, per quarter. T.

time ; and the grease, of which the tallow candles were made, they never knew to be lower than four rixdollars, or *f*.9 12, per hundred pounds *. At present the waggon-load of wheat sells for thirty-two rixdollars, or *f*.76 13 ; and tallow for six rixdollars, or *f*.14 8, per hundred pounds †.

It does not appear either, that hitherto this fetching away of the produce, has brought any advantage to the colony ; and this year (certainly also partly occasioned by a failure in the harvest), not even the flyboat from *Batavia* could procure a cargo, although the government of the *Cape*, in order to disguise this want of grain, thought fit to order that vessel to *Batavia* with troops, though there were ships enough at hand, or upon the point of arriving, by which the conveyance of the troops might have been effected, with more propriety and convenience.

To render this a flourishing colony, it would be necessary to give to it a mixed government, and one that is adapted to the nature of the country, and the disposition of

* About 18*s*. sterling per cwt. English. 7.

† Respectively equal to about 35*s*. 6*d*. sterling per quarter for wheat, and 27*s*. per cwt. for tallow. 7.

its inhabitants ; a government that must not be thwarted by the controulments of arbitrary power. It is at home that the means of putting this in practice, must be sought for. The administration of the government of this colony ought not to be put upon the same footing, as that of the Company's Asiatic possessions, where the greatest part of their subjects consists of a servile and enslaved people, who must be compelled, by violence, to cultivate their country, and to deliver the produce to the Company ; or where policy requires that state-practices of expediency should be resorted to, with respect to the neighbouring princes, their allies, in order to contain them within due bounds, and to keep them quiet.

The first mode of administration is both practicable and necessary here ; and for the latter, there is no appearance or even shadow of reason. The numbers of the yet remaining Hottentots are too inconsiderable to be, in any ways, an object. The nature of the laws ought here, as well as every where else, to be moulded according to the nature of the inhabitants, and of their method of life, and means of subsistence. The inhabitants are

all Europeans, or descendants of Europeans (the small number of slaves does not here come in consideration), who have not yet lost the remembrance, or the love, of liberty ; to govern these with the iron rod of oriental despotism, and to subject them to arbitrary and illframed laws and regulations, can never afford a permanent security, or must terminate in the entire ruin of the colony.

They earn their bread by agriculture, which we are taught by the examples laid before us by history and observation, flourishes no where in greater luxuriance, than under a mild government, and this, therefore, is of greater necessity here, where the cultivation of the soil may be said to be yet in its infancy.

It was in this light that it was seen, by the father of this country, the worthy promoter of the welfare of this African colony, governor TULBAGH, who, by a residence of upwards of fifty years on the spot, was fully acquainted with the true interests of the colonists, and the nature of the country ; and who attached every heart to him, by his mild administration, and his paternal attention to the welfare of all : although death has, for many years, deprived the colony and the

the Company of the benefit of his services, he still lives in the grateful memory of the inhabitants; and the remembrance of his truly paternal administration will never be extinguished among them, and never will they forget the thousand times blessed name of TULBAGH.

The discovery lately made by Captain GORDON, of a large and navigable river in the south latitude of about 29° , might prove of great advantage to this colony in particular, and to trade and navigation in general, if, as appears probable, it be found to extend to the northeastward; as by that route a trade might be carried on into the heart of *Africa*, or into the rich country of *Sofala*, and a commerce established there, in gold and elephants' teeth. Or if it be found to run to the westward, and thus, probably, to disembogue itself in the Atlantic Ocean, a settlement might be formed at its mouth, and a bay or harbour established, where ships might remain in safety on the west coast of *Africa*.

GORDON met with this river very accidentally and unexpectedly, and did not perceive it, till he was upon its banks, which were very steep. He told me that the breadth

of the river between them, was like that of the *Maeſe* at *Maeſtricht*. Aſcending a hill, he ſaw that it divided itſelf into two branches towards the eaſt. The water of it was very clear, and well taſted; and the land in that neighbourhood was graſſy and hilly *.

* Compare this with what SPARMAN ſays, vol. ii. page 152. “ *Groote-rivier*, or *Great-river*, is ſaid to be the largeſt “ river in *Africa*, and to be no otherwiſe known than from “ the accounts of the Hottentots. It is reported to contain a “ great number of ſeacows, or riverhorſes, which are very “ bold and daring; ſo that it cannot, without danger, be “ navigated for the purpoſe of further exploring the country. “ It is ſuppoſed to lie directly to the northward, at the diſ- “ tance of eight or ten days’ journey from the *Sneeuw-bergen*. “ It was ſaid to riſe in the eaſt, and run ſtrait on towards the “ north. It is probable that this river ſoon after turns off to “ the weſt and ſouth, and is the ſame *Groote-rivier* which I “ have inſerted in my map, on the authority of Mr. HENRY “ HOPE’s *Journal of an Expedition to the Diſtrict of Anamaguas*, “ publiſhed in a compilation called *Nouvelle Deſcription du* “ *Cap de Bonne Eſperance*. This river, however, muſt not “ be confounded with another of the ſame name, which “ empties itſelf at the eaſtern ſhore of *Africa*, and the *Caffre-* “ *coaſt*.” This river is, probably, that called, by Colonel GOR- “ DON, the river of *Orange*, and mentioned in LE VAILLANT’s “ ſecond journey. It is to be hoped that the death of Colonel “ GORDON will not deprive the world of the invaluable re- “ ſults of his reſearches; and that, in whatever hands his “ papers may be, they will not be conſigned to oblivion, or “ withheld from the public, who might juſtly form great ex- “ pectations from his long reſidence at the *Cape*, his frequent “ journeys up the country, and his well-known zeal for the “ promotion of knowledge. T.

Not meeting with any place which was fordable, to carry over his baggage and arms, he found himself obliged to put a stop to his expedition, and after travelling a day's journey along its banks, to set off on his return to the southward.

The height of the barometer in the plain country, at the foot of the hills, he found to be twenty-three inches, so that the rising of the land to the northward, must be very considerable.

The seasons seemed here to be reversed, for, while it was, at that time, the good monsoon at the *Cape*, with dry weather, he there met with much rain, thunder, and lightning.

In this river he met with a great number of seacows (*bippopotami*), and he shewed me some very curious drawings of them; as likewise several skeletons, and the representations, as well of the hyena, or tiger-wolf*, as of an animal that has much analogy with the zebra, but is distinguished from it, by the black stripes being in a more serpentine direction towards the haunches, and that the head more resembled that of a horse, than an

* *Hyena maculata*.

afs, which was, indeed, the cafe with the whole body*.

* Most likely the quagga (*equus quagga*); these animals can be tamed and broke in; SPARRMAN fays he faw one driven in a team, with five horfes, at the Cape. The zebra too, if we may believe LE VAILLANT, is capable of being tamed by man, notwithstanding all that travellers and naturalists have asserted with respect to its indocility: he relates, that having hunted down a female zebra, he got upon her back; her resistance was feeble, and less than that of a horse not yet broke in, and she soon went as tractably as his horse; he rode her for about a mile, but his hounds having, in the chace, bitten her severely in several places, and as he could not afford time to stay the dressing of her wounds, he was obliged to abandon the project he had formed of keeping and taming her, and to give her up to his Hottentots, who dispatched her, and feasted on her flesh. 7.

CHAPTER XI.

Expenditure and Receipts of the Colony.—Establishment.—Articles of Trade—To and from the Cape.—Revenues of the Company.—Means of rendering this Colony less burthensome.

THE colony of the *Cape*, considered by itself, is an object of considerable expence to the Company, as it costs them annually about three hundred thousand gilders more than it yields, by reason of the little trade which they carry on, and the strong garrison which is obliged to be kept here.

In the year 1770, the expenditure of the colony amounted to the

sum of	f.452,010 15 0
and the net receipts to	157,556 11 8

thus, in that year, there

was a deficiency of	f.294,454 3 8*
	without

* 26,768*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* sterling. In 1779, the charges amounted to f.505,269, and the receipts to f.195,168, making the balance against the *Cape* amount to f.310,101 (£,28,191 sterling).
Governor

without taking into consideration the interest of a capital of *f*.904,004 8 8*, for which this colony then stood debtor, for balances of specie, amounts of ammunition, slaves, cattle, &c. and which is not now (1778) diminished.

The articles of trade which are sent from Holland to the *Cape* by the Company, consist, for the greatest part, in iron, coals, and nails.

Many complaints are made respecting the supply of the two firstmentioned articles, in which no regularity, or due proportion, is observed. The stores are sometimes amply provided with iron, and no coals to supply the forges for its preparation; and, at other times, the contrary takes place: and, in those

Governor MOSSEL calculated, in his time, that the charges might amount to *f*.404,000; against which he took, for the revenues, a sum of *f*.140,000, which would leave a balance of only *f*.264,000 (about *£*.24,000): but he calculated upon an establishment of no more than 900 men, including the civil, medical, military, and ecclesiastical departments. In 1776-1777, however, the establishment of the Dutch Company at the *Cape* was as follows: 506 persons in civil, and sixteen in ecclesiastical, employments; sixteen surgeons and assistants, thirty-nine belonging to the artillery, 326 seamen and marines employed on shore, 872 soldiers, and 206 mechanics; in all, 1,981 Europeans. T.

* About 82,182*l.* 4*s.* *Cd.* sterling. T.

cases,

cases, the inhabitants, but more particularly the farmers, are compelled, by the purveyor, to take more than they want, of what happens to be most abundant ; and this is again a grievance that presses hard upon the agriculturer.

In former times, I was told, that the Company used to send to the *Cape* such wood as was required for the construction of wag-gons ; but as there has been a want of such wood in Holland, as well as in other parts of Europe, the exportation of any to this colony has not, for many years, taken place.

The articles of trade which the Company send from India to the *Cape*, are, a few coarse cotton cloths, a quantity of arrack, and eight or nine hundred thousand pounds weight of rice : but the whole does not yield much profit.

Different articles are likewise brought in private trade from India, as coffee, sugar, and especially timber, together with some cotton cloths. Individuals also bring with them various trifles from Holland, but no articles of any consequence.

On the other hand, the *Cape* furnishes to India, a cargo of wheat, some butter, and
four

four or five hundred leagers of wine. The first and the last article are now likewise sent to Holland *.

The chief revenues of the Company arise from the duties upon exports, imports, wines, &c. the tithes of the productions of the field, and the tax upon farms, which is settled at twenty-five rixdollars annually : wealthy farmers pay this tax in ready money ; but those who are poor, or who live at a distance, and cannot procure cash for their produce, or such as are peculiarly favoured by the collectors, are allowed to pay it in kind, that is, in cattle, or in wheat †.

Although

* Between fifty and sixty awms of Constantia wine, was the quantity usually sold every year by the Dutch East-India Company, at their autumn-sales. T.

† Besides the annual tax for his farm, the farmer paid also for wax candles four rixdollars a year, for every horse one stiver, and for every hundred sheep one gilder. Each farmer, whether rich or poor, or possessed of a large or small farm, pays for mending the roads ; and all pay ferry-money alike, let their road lead them that way or not. A tax was likewise levied by the Dutch Company, under the denomination of lion and tyger-money ; this tax was paid by each burgher, at the rate of four rixdollars for lion, and two guilders for tiger-money ; out of this fund, at the time when the colony began to extend itself, and when the colonists were much infested by wild beasts, a certain premium was paid to every one who killed or caught any of these animals. At first, government paid sixteen rixdollars for a lion, and ten guilders for a tiger, after

Although the colony is thus a yearly heavy charge upon the Company, it amply compensates for the expenditure of three hundred thousand gilders per annum, by its excellent position, for a place of refreshment, for the outward and homeward bound India ships. It is likewise much frequented for that purpose by ships of other nations, which do not contribute, in a slight degree, to the advantage of the colony, both by their daily expenditure at the *Cape*, and by their affording a vent for its productions; and which, in my opinion, ought rather to be encouraged than discountenanced, as they, in general, pay ready money, and we, by that means, draw the specie of other nations into our hands. Indeed, the prohibitory regulations, in this respect, serve, at present, no other purpose than that of filling the pockets of those who are appointed to prevent a clandestine trade.

after which, the sum was diminished to ten rixdollars for a lion's, and six gilders for a tiger's skin. But when these animals were so far extirpated, that seldom any were to be seen, the premium was discontinued, excepting in case they were brought alive to the *Cape*, which is hardly practicable. But the tax remained in force, and assumed the nature of a permanent impost. T.

Political confiderations have, probably, prevented the Company from granting the freedom of trade and navigation to the colonifts of the *Cape*; for I imagine that they cannot have failed to perceive that nothing would more contribute to leffen the charges of the fettlement, or to encrease the revenues againft them, and to add to its power and importance, than fuch a meafure.

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—View of the Island ST. HELENA.—Of the Island of ASCENSION.—Narrow Bounds prescribed to the Company's Ships.—Reasons why other Nations so far outstrip the Dutch in naval Improvements.—A Ball of Fire.—Passage of the Line.—Council assembled on board the Commodore.—Meeting with a Fleet of sixteen Ships of War.—An Eclipse of the Sun.—View of LIZARD-Point.—Meeting with the cruising Frigates.—Passage of the Straits of DOVER.—Arrival before FLUSHING, and in the Road of RAMMEKENS.

THE departure of the third division of the return-fleet being fixed for the 2d of April, the ships crews were mustered on the first of that month, and, on the day after, we received our dispatches on board, in the morning. At four o'clock, P.M. the flagship made the signal for getting under weigh, and we were soon under sail, with a light breeze of wind from the southeast. In the evening, it fell perfectly calm, with the appearance of variable weather in the sky, while a heavy
 sea

sea rolling into the bay from the southwest, set us strongly towards the east shore, and we had much to do to avoid being driven upon it during the night. This made us determine, as soon as the day broke, to run again into the outer road of the *Cape*, and, at ten o'clock, A.M. all the ships of the fleet lay again at anchor in the road.

We did not, however, stop long; for, at half past one o'clock, P.M. the southeast wind again coming on, the flagship made the signal for getting under sail; which had a better issue, as at four o'clock we had all passed *Robben* or *Seal*-island, and were out at sea.

The southeast wind, with which we had left the *Cape*, kept steady, and blew hard, so that on the 11th of April, we had already passed the tropic of capricorn, and entered the torrid zone.

On the 18th of April, all the captains of the fleet went on board the flagship, by signal from the commodore, where we received information that we were to pursue our voyage to Holland, through the Channel; and two days afterwards, we saw, at
break

break of day, the island *St. Helena*, passing it at four o'clock, P.M.

The weather began now to grow very hot, and the thermometer was sometimes, in the afternoon, as high as 87° , while the coolness of the night made it fall no lower than to 81° .

On the 26th of April, at daybreak, we run in sight of the island *Ascension*, passing it in the afternoon, and losing sight of it in the evening.

This island lies $1^{\circ} 37'$ too much to the eastward, in our maps, according to the observations of M. DE LA CAILLE made in the road; but the latitude agrees with the observations made by us. We had, in sight of it, a northwesterly variation of 11° , which differs one degree from the observation of the variation, when in sight of the same island, on my former voyage, being now one degree more, so that the line shewing 10° variation, was removed in seven years one degree to the westward.

Hence we steered for the equinoctial line N.W. by N. although the general sailing-orders, and particular instructions of the

Company, direct that it should be N.W. The reason of this our disobedience, was, that a N.W. by N. course was materially shorter than the other, which would, at least, have led us one hundred and thirty or forty leagues farther; for this reason, the ships of other nations, when they have a fair opportunity, never steer more to the westward, than they can help, and keep in a northerly course; these, not being bound to follow any particular instruction or sailing-orders, with respect to their navigation, generally perform much shorter voyages, both to and from the East-Indies, than the ships of the Company. Hence too, the commanders of Dutch ships, impeded and fettered in their proceedings, cannot possibly make as much progress as others, in the improvement of navigation; and to this it may also, in my opinion, be greatly attributed, that the English, the French, and others, so far outstrip us in the making of improvements, new discoveries, &c. although our East-India trade might reasonably be supposed to be an excellent nursery for seamen, and a school for the greatest nautical improvements,

provements, on account of the number of ships and men it employs, and the distance and diversity of the voyages.

It is easy to refute the objection, that this liberty of proceeding might be abused to the prejudice of the Company's interests. In order, however, to prevent the stoppage of wages and premiums, the seizure of goods, and other difficulties, which would ensue to the ships' officers and crews, from this deviation from the strict letter of the Company's instructions, we, the five commanders of the ships, agreed to let the course steered be noted as N.W. in the ships' journals, and I accordingly followed this method in mine, till the eight of May, after which time, the true course was noted down. This gave a difference of full sixty leagues, which we ought to have sailed more to the westward, if we would afterwards have had to bear away to the eastward again.

On the 28th of April, a little after eight o'clock in the evening, we saw a ball of fire, about the size of a cannon-ball, shooting from east to west, and which left behind it a broad, undulating, fiery stripe, which continued visible for a quarter of an

hour after the ball had disappeared, and seemed gradually to be driven by the wind to the westward; the sky appeared at that time with patches of lowering and stormy clouds, the wind was at s.e. and the thermometer stood at 82° .

On the 3d of May we passed the line, and the commodore was welcomed in the northern hemisphere by a salute of eleven guns from each ship.

On the following day, we lost the settled southeasterly tradewind, and we met with light and variable airs, calms, and heavy showers of rain, not, however, accompanied with much thunder and lightning; the heat encreased considerably at the same time, although we did not see the sun for several days, the air being, for the most part, very hazy, and the sky cloudy. The medium height of the thermometer, from the 1st to the 9th of May, including both day and night, was 83° , and at noon it was sometimes 89° . This continued till the 11th, when we met with refreshing gales from the northeast, and afterwards clearer weather, in the north latitude of 6° and 7° .

On the 17th we were in $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude,

tude, when we edged away from N.W. by N. to north, as close as wind and weather would permit, in order, if possible, to run in sight of the islands *Corvus* and *Floris*.

Here the northeast and east wind began to blow in fresh gales, frequently with a stormy sky, and much rain, till in the north latitude of 30° , when the wind veered more to the southeast, till in about 40° , when it changed to west, though only for two days; after which it changed again to northeast, with stiff gales and rain, by which our progress was much retarded. The thermometer shewed that we had left the torrid zone, and were approaching our native climate, as it seldom rose, in the warmest part of the day, higher than 65° or 66° , and in the morning, before sunrise, it was at 59° and 60° .

On the 26th of May, we saw a strange sail, for the first time, being a little French frigate, coming from *Nantes*, and going to *St. Domingo*.

On the next day, I went, together with the other captains, on board of the commodore, who had made the signal for our assembling on board the flag-ship; where, after

having formed a council, and finished our matters of business, we were entertained during the remainder of the day, and returned in the evening, on board of our respective ships,

On the 29th, I had the pleasure of entertaining them on board of my ship, where we all dined together; and on which occasion, some alterations were made in the sailing-orders. We were now in that part of the ocean called the grass-sea.

On the 1st of June, we saw, in the afternoon, a fleet of sixteen ships of war, bearing down upon us from the east, who closed round us in the evening, and forced us to keep in company with them, till midnight, after which, they again allowed us to continue our voyage. When the day appeared, they shewed English colours; but, from all the circumstances, it appeared that they were a French fleet, cruising to intercept the English homewardbound East-Indiamen.

On the 9th, one of our sailors fell from the mainyard upon the deck, and died shortly after, by the fall. He was the third man
that

that we had lost since our departure from the *Cape*.

On the 24th, we saw an eclipse of the sun, of which I could not observe either the beginning or the middle, but the end was, according to several observations, in the afternoon, at eleven minutes past four o'clock, true time; and as, according to the *Connoissance des Temps*, it was to be at *Paris* at forty-six minutes past five o'clock, which gave a difference in time with us, of one hour and thirty-five minutes, and shewed we were in longitude $355^{\circ} 7'$, while, by our reckoning, we were in $1^{\circ} 47'$ east of *Teneriffe*, by which it appeared, that we were $5^{\circ} 40'$ more to the westward, than we had computed; this agreed with three observations of the distances of the sun and moon, which I had made four days before: and although, on the 2d of July, on seeing the *Lizard*-point, we perceived no more than two degrees of westerly misreckoning, yet I trust, that the observation approached very near the truth, and that, in sailing eastward with stiff gales of wind, we had calculated too little; for three of the other ships,

in the distance of fifty-five leagues, between the first meeting with foundings, and the view of the land, computed to have failed a degree more than we; and which, on seeing the land, was found to be right*.

On the 29th of June, we first struck foundings, at four o'clock, A.M. in one hundred fathoms, and on the 2d of July, we

* The Dutch manner of navigating, is peculiar to themselves. They steer by the true compass, or rather endeavour so to do, by means of a small moveable central card, which they set to the meridian: and whenever they discover the variation has altered $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees since the last adjustment, they again correct the central card. This is steering within a quarter of a point, without aiming at greater exactness. The officer of the watch, likewise, corrects the course for lee-way, by his own judgment, before it is marked down in the log-board. They heave no log. Their manner of computing their run, is by means of a measured distance of forty feet, along the ship's side: they take notice of any remarkable patch of froth, when it is abreast of the foremost end of the measured distance, and count half seconds till the mark of froth is abreast of the after-end. With the number of half seconds thus obtained, they divide the number 48, taking the product for the rate of sailing in geographical miles in one hour, or the number of Dutch miles in four hours. It is not usual to make any allowance to the sun's declination, on account of being on a different meridian from that for which the tables are calculated: they, in general, compute the numbers just as they are found in the table. From all this, it is not difficult to conceive the reason why the Dutch are frequently above ten degrees out in their reckoning. T.

saw the *Lizard*-point, bearing w.N.w. and on the 3d, at six o'clock, P.M. we met the States' cruising frigates, the *Waakzaamheid*, (the *Vigilance*), and the *Venus*, the former commanded by Captain MATTHEW SLOOT, and the latter, by Captain JACOB PETER VAN BRAAM, with which last we pursued our voyage on the following day, for the haven of our destination.

On the 8th of July, we all anchored behind the *Shingles*, as the wind was too much to the northward, to pass the straits of *Dover*, and to run into the North-sea. We remained here till the 10th, when the wind coming round to the s.w. and s.s.w. we got under sail; passed the straits in the afternoon; parted from the frigate, and the three other ships, on the following day, at four o'clock, A.M. steering for the island of *Walcheren*, in company with the ship *Ganges*; came in sight of the island at noon; and anchored at seven o'clock P.M. at the mouth of the passage called the *Deurloo*.

The day after, which was the 12th of July, we entered the *Deurloo*, cast anchor at half past nine o'clock, close to the buoy N^o 2, and the following day, at noon, before

fore the town of *Flushing*, where we were obliged to remain, by calms and contrary winds, till the 22d, before we could get the ship as far as the road of *Rammekens*; and on the 23d, we were discharged from the Company's service, by the directors RADER-MACHER and VAN DE PERRE.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

REGULATIONS AND ORDERS,

Respecting the commissions and emoluments to be enjoyed by the servants of the Company at *Batavia*, and in the undermentioned administrations, ordained in the council of India, by resolutions of the 26th and 28th of August, 1755.

SECTION. I. *Of the Cashiers.*

ARTICLE I. **B**Y this denomination is hereby solely understood, the grand cashier of the Company, holding the general daily cash, and the cashier of general receipts; the cashier of the paymaster's office being considered rather as a distributor of wages, and thus not comprehended in the following orders; no more than the keeper of the Company's specie; or the senior merchant of the castle, who has the keeping of the great treasury; or the respective secretaries of any boards, or others, acting as cashiers to subordinate societies, already established in this city, or hereafter to be established.

ART. II. The grand cashier, or the keeper of the daily cash, shall receive of all monies paid into his hands, or which he shall pay away, one-half per cent, which shall be contributed by the payers and receivers; but the objects specified hereunder, shall not be subject to the said half per cent, but shall be paid, received, and accounted for *in toto*, namely:

1. The salaries and houserents of the members of this government, and their secretaries, and of the brigadier, and the two senior merchants of the castle; and also the houserents of the members of the council of justice, and of the reformed clergymen of the city.

2. The

2. The monies transferred, from time to time, to the great treasury, by warrants from the governor general, or received by him for daily expenditure.

3. All that is paid to the chief of the *soldy-comptoir*, or paymaster's office, for payment of board-wages.

4. All that is furnished to the chief *winkelier*, or purveyor, for payment of wages, &c.

5. The monies arising from the duties, collected by the collectors of excise and customs, and which are paid into the Company's treasury.

6. The monies paid out of the treasury, by resolution of the government, to the board of *schepens* of the city, for city-uses, cleansing the canals, &c.

7. The produce of bankrupt-estates paid into the Company's hands, by their assignees, for the benefit of their European creditors.

8. The capitals taken upon interest, from the orphan-chamber, board of dikes and sluices, commissioners of estates, churches, and hospitals, and the interest paid upon them by the Company.

9. The monies remitted by bills of exchange to *Holland*, or to the *Cape of Good Hope*.

10. Loans from individuals to the Company, if any necessity should arise for negotiating such.

11. Transfers of capitals at interest.

12. Pensions allowed to the widows of clergymen.

13. Pensions to the servants of the Company who have retired.

14. Cash paid to the Company's servants, in lieu of their emoluments.

15. Monies paid to the Company on account of any old debts.

16. Money remitted by the *curator ad lites*, out of the estates of the deceased servants of the Company.

17. Cash arising from sales out of the different administrations, including the sale of liquors, &c. in the provision-magazine, unserviceable goods in the *ambagt/kwartier*, and goods belonging to the Company, sold by the vendue-master.

18. Whatever is paid, or remitted, to the hospitals, the *seminarium theologicum*, and the marine academy.

19. Whatever is paid to, or for the maintenance of, the Indian envoys, state-prisoners, and native princes, together

gether with all others who may be reckoned to belong to them.

20. Postages of letters.

21. What is paid to the officers of the native militia, or trainbands, and to the city-officers; namely, to the weighmaster, surveyor, superintendent of the fishmarket, superintendent of the ricemarket, assizer of the shambles, and the governors of the house of correction for females.

22. What is paid to the writer at *Tangerang*, for purchase of *paddee*, &c. for those who lie in garrison there.

23. What is paid at the *ambagtskwartier*, the island *Onrust*, and the admiralty-wharf, for the maintenance of slaves, &c.

24. The board of the government-slaves.

25. The money which the servants of the Company receive, for provisions, upon their departure for Holland.

26. The specie that is delivered to the captains of ships, upon leaving India, for the purchase of refreshments, upon touching at foreign ports.

27. Penalties and forfeitures incurred by sentences of the respective courts of justice, and paid into the treasury of the Company.

28. Sales of rice at the *bazar*, for the relief of the inhabitants.

29. Payments to bakers, for bread, &c. furnished to the government.

30. Whatever payments are required to be made, to the captains of ships, for purchase of salt-fish, *cadjang*, beans, tamarinds, &c. for their crews, upon the failure of supply of any of those articles from the Company's stores.

31. And although the Palembangers, by resolution of the 23d of August, 1748, are liberated from the payment of the aforesaid one-half per cent, upon the pepper and tin which they furnish, yet the cashier shall continue to receive the same, and it shall be carried to the account of those articles, conformable to the tenor of the aforesaid resolution.

ART. III. Of all what is not included in the above exceptions, the cashier shall receive the said one-half per cent, and shall be bound to keep due note thereof, and shall deliver a statement thereof every year to the director general, upon the close of the books, in order that its amount may be divided, among those to whom a share therein

therein has been granted; namely, to the cashier himself, one-fourth; to each of the two senior merchants of the castle, one-eighth; to the second in the great treasury, one-eighth; to the *negotie-comptoir*, or board of trade, three-sixteenths; to the office of the director general, one-eighth; and to the examiners of the bybooks of *Batavia*, one-sixteenth.

ART. IV. The cashier of general receipts, shall equally receive one-half per cent, upon the amounts of the farmed duties, that is, to be paid by the farmers, so that the whole amount of the duties shall be made good to the Company. But the said one-half per cent shall not be paid—

1. Of the further revenues, which are accounted for at the general monthly offreckoning of the receipts;

2. Nor of the money paid into the Company's grand treasury.

ART. V. The above half per cent shall, at the termination of the year, be divided, two-thirds to the receiver general, and one-third to the cashier of general receipts.

SECTION II. *Of the Administrators in general.*

ART. I. In this general denomination are included, not only those who are usually called warehousekeepers, or superintendents of the Company's warehouses, stores, and magazines, but likewise all those who have any administration over the Company's effects; as, the chiefs of the admiralty-wharf, of the *ambagtskwartier*, of the arsenal, of the armoury, and of the stables, or the commandant and comptroller of equipment, the *fabrick*, the chief of the artillery, the warden of the armoury, and the stablekeeper, all whom shall enjoy the following advantages, and be subject to the following obligations and restrictions, which are common to them all.

ART. II. The common emoluments of all the administrations of the commercial warehouses, the wharf, the *ambagtskwartier*, the provision-magazine, the grain-magazine, the medical dispensary, the armoury, the artillery-yard, and the stables, shall consist in the following:

1. That, although the five per cent formerly allowed on purchases is wholly abolished, the administrators shall, nevertheless, be permitted to be the providers of such goods,

goods, as are wanted in their respective warehouses, and must be purchased for sending off, &c. provided the samples thereof be laid before the director general, and the prices of them approved of by him.

2. They shall all likewise have, to be paid by the purchasers of goods, that are sold for ready money, out of their administrations, five per cent upon the amounts, but not upon what is furnished, on account of payments to the members of the government, and other privileged persons, to the different boards, and to the hospitals, who shall continue to account for what they receive from the respective administrations, according to the present custom, twice every year, upon the customary warrants.

ART. III. Notwithstanding the usual annual oath of purgation has been mortified and abolished, yet the administrators in general, all together, and each one in particular, shall be bound diligently to observe, and accurately to attend to, the following duties of their offices :

1. That they shall have, each in their respective administrations, to act as carefully and economically, as if they were attending to their own individual concerns.

2. That, with respect to the goods they furnish to the Company, they shall have strictly to attend to the orders which are given to them, as well in regard to the prices, as to the qualities; and further, on this head, that they shall not only be satisfied with their just dues, but shall, as much as lies in their power, and as far as they can in their respective departments, take care, that others do not act dishonestly towards the Company.

3. That, in regard to the overweights and overmeasures, they shall not exceed the limitations made on that subject, and that in these, and also in the undermentioned off- reckonings and deficiencies, both at the receipt and delivery, and which are allotted to them as an honourable means of subsistence, they shall have to behave themselves as persons of honour and honesty, without defrauding any one, or exacting, or taking, any thing more than what is justly due to them, or charging any one more than is right, much less defrauding any one in weights or measures, or being guilty of any adulteration, commixtion, or substitution of goods; neither shall they suffer, if they can prevent it, any one to be guilty of any of these enormities; but, on the contrary, shall as carefully watch against, and endeavour to prevent them, as they could or might do in
their

their own affairs; the whole upon pain, that, whoever shall be found to have offended against this article, shall, without the least favour or respect of persons, be dismissed, and declared incapable of serving the Company; and further punished as shall be judged fit and necessary, according to the circumstances of the case.

ART. IV. And in order that the aforesaid administrators, and especially the warehousekeepers, be the better able duly to attend to the discharge of their several duties, they shall be bound, either at the receipt or dispatch of goods, to be present, as often as their service shall be required, without respect of days or hours; and for the performance of the ordinary work of their offices, they are required to attend on the four principal workingdays of the week, namely, Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, from seven to eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and from two to five or six o'clock in the afternoon, as also on the mornings of Wednesdays and Saturdays at the same hours, on the afternoons of which days they shall likewise be bound to attend, if necessary, on the pain of forfeiting one month's wages for every instance of neglect, to the benefit of the common purse of the pen-nists.

ART. V. The commandant and comptroller of equipment (*equipagemeester*), the *fabrick*, and the chief of the artillery, shall not only be considered as administrators of many of the warehouses and stores in their several departments, but shall likewise be responsible for the conduct of their subordinate administrators, masters, and wardens, with the proviso that they shall be at liberty to take such precautions in this respect as they may judge proper for their security and discharge, and also to make such complaints and representations as may be necessary, respecting any inattention, neglect, omission, or other evil practices of those inferior officers, which shall be immediately attended to and redressed.

ART. VI. Finally, all the aforesaid administrators, in general, shall have to take care, that the quantities arising upon the overweights and measures, either upon receipt, or delivery, of such goods as the Company reserve exclusively to themselves, shall not fall into the hands of private individuals, although the disposal of them to such persons may be more advantageous, but as much as they shall have been able to save by the allowed overweights upon

upon such articles, namely, Japan copper, whether in bars, plates, or wire, all other copper, pepper, tin, coffee, saltpetre, and the finer spices, among which are included long pepper and cubebs, shall every year be delivered to the Company; nevertheless, if various prices for any of the above articles are given by the Company, the highest shall be paid to them; yet, with this proviso, that, with respect to the pepper which is delivered to the Company by the administrators, they shall receive for that which they gain by the allowed overweights and offreckonings, in the same manner as heretofore, twelve rixdollars per picol, provided that they insert in the warrant of payment, or annex to it, a specific account, proving that the quantity delivered at that price does not exceed the allowed overweights and offreckonings; and with respect to the pepper which they further purchase out of the overweights and offreckonings allowed to the commanders of vessels, they shall only have to pay for it, at the rate of nine rixdollars per picol. But all the other goods which they may obtain out of their allowed overweights and measures, they shall be at liberty to dispose of as they think proper, either by sale to private persons, by shipping them off to other places, or by delivery to the Company.

SECTION III. *Of the Administrators in particular.*

ART. I. Besides the above emoluments, which shall be common to all the administrations, the respective warehousekeepers shall further enjoy those that follow, each according to the circumstances of his office, and to be divided in the manner prescribed, and subject to the restrictions added to them.

ART. II. The commercial warehouses.

By this denomination are understood the warehouses on the west side, at the water-gate, on the islands *Onrust* and *Kuyper*, and the sugar and cloth warehouses, constituting five different administrations, over very different species of merchandize.

ART. III. The warehouses on the west side and at the water-gate shall, with respect to the advantages, be combined, and the following emoluments, allowed to the four administrators, shall be annually divided among

them in equal portions, each having an equal degree of responsibility.

1. The coffee delivered to the Company from the province of *Jacatra*, shall be housed in these warehouses, according to the orders of the director general, and whether more or less shall be received at each, the profits upon the whole shall be on the common account, and for the common benefit of all the administrators, and shall consist, according as the custom is at present, in an allowed overweight, namely, that the coffee received at the rate of one hundred and forty pounds per picol, shall be delivered by bales of two picols, or two hundred and fifty pounds, with two pounds for draft, out of which difference the aforesaid administrators shall have to make good all loss in weight by drying, during the time that it shall lie under their care, likewise all damage and waste, excepting such as may occur by extraordinary circumstances, or by accidents, which they could not prevent, and respecting which, the authority for their being allowed, shall depend upon the special approval of the government.

2. Tea on freight, forwarded to Holland, shall henceforward pay one killing, or one-eighth of a rixdollar, per picol, for the trouble which the said warehousekeepers have concerning it, whether it be received into the warehouses on the west side alone, or both in them, and in those at the water-gate, as circumstances may induce; and, on the other hand, the said administrators shall be responsible for the damage and loss which may happen to the tea, and which might have been prevented by proper care, from the time of the receipt, till that of the delivery.

3. The aforesaid warehousekeepers shall not have to claim any bonification of offreckonings, or diminutions, beyond the aforesaid allowed emoluments, upon goods which they shall receive in their administrations, according to the present regulation, but shall have to answer for them, piece for piece, and pound for pound, excepting the spices, the underweights of which shall, if required, be testified upon oath before the supreme government, and be in consequence allowed, according to circumstances, by special resolutions; and of which the surplusweights shall be to the advantage of the Company; and
respecting

respecting which, all private trade, and all indirect conduct, is prohibited, upon pain of corporal punishment, and of death, according to circumstances, agreeable to the statutes which, in this respect, are left in their full force; as likewise the ancient order, that the administrators of the westside warehouses, on quitting their employments, or on being appointed to other offices, shall take an oath that they have acted with fidelity and honesty, during the time of their administration.

ART. IV. The sugar-warehouse.

1. All the goods received therein shall be delivered out again, free of all deficiency and underweight.

2. Excepting, the long-accustomed allowance, of one pound per hundred for draft on the copper in plates, &c. sheetlead, piglead, and vermillion.

3. And there shall be no further emoluments received there, than six stivers per picol, to be paid by the deliverer of the powder-sugar, which is delivered to the Company, and serving for the purposes of trade, that is, of the two sorts *cabeffa* and *bariga*; and nine stivers upon each picol sugar-candy, without any overweight or further charge upon the deliverer of any kind or sort whatever.

4. The approval and valuation of the sugars which are furnished, shall nevertheless remain, according to the present and ancient custom, with the director general.

5. Lastly, those of the aforesaid warehouse shall have to take care, that the sugar furnished to the Company, be not adulterated, mixed, or changed.

ART. V. The warehouses upon the islands of *Onrust*, and *de Kuyper*.

1. Respecting the article of pepper, which is one of the chief articles of this administration, the administrators shall—

a. Have to take care, together with their subordinate officers, that, according to ancient custom, the dust of such pepper as is received unharped, and is harped in their warehouses, be immediately, that is, on the same day that the harping shall have been effected, or at farthest within the space of four-and-twenty hours, either buried, or thrown away, at the place appointed for that purpose, in order that it be not again intermixed with the pepper in the warehouses.

b. They shall likewise, exclusive of the undermentioned allowances, not be guilty of any extortion upon receipt or delivery, either by extravagant tares or any other invention; but, with respect to the dustiness of the pepper, which is occasioned without their faults, by lying, drying up, and turning over, they shall be allowed to continue the former method, namely, to make several due trials, in order to form from them a calculatory allowance for dust.

c. Upon their warehouses becoming empty of pepper, they shall henceforward be allowed two per cent at once, and no more, nor any thing upon the shipment, for general waste.

d. On the pepper which is brought from *Bantam* and *Palembang*, by the Company's ships, they shall have the one-half per cent overweight with which they receive it, and be allowed to deliver it off, pound for pound, without any overweight.

e. On the other hand, on the pepper which is brought by and delivered to them from native vessels, they shall be allowed to take a draft of five pounds upon each weigh of about three hundred pounds, to be borne by the deliverers, agreeable to the resolution of government of the 11th of August, 1752, in order to indemnify them for the greater hazard they run by pilferage, waste, and crumbling, and for the charges they incur towards the deliverers; and on the contrary, they shall be answerable for all misconduct of their servants and inferiors towards the natives at such receipts.

2. The Cheribon coffee, which is henceforward to be received by the ships' commanders at the original places of shipment, at the rate of one hundred and thirty pounds per picol, and delivered at the warehouses here at one hundred and twenty-eight pounds per picol, may be delivered again by the administrators with an overweight of one pound, or at the rate of one hundred and twenty-six pounds; and they shall, moreover, upon the warehouses becoming empty of coffee, be allowed an offreckoning of two per cent, and no more, whether it shall have been for a long or a short time under their charge.

3. Saltpetre shall henceforward be received here, with two per cent overweight, gross, and be shipped, sold, or furnished, simply gross, without overweight; and upon
the

the whole quantity being taken out of the warehouses, an allowance shall be equally made of two per cent for waste, &c. in this article.

4. The caliatourwood, from *Coromandel*, shall be received with one per cent overweight, and the sapanwood, from *Siam* and *Bina*, together with the sandalwood, from other places, with one half per cent, and shall be delivered neat, without overweight; and upon the whole quantity being taken out of the warehouses, an allowance of two per cent shall, in the same manner, be given for waste.

5. Upon the areca, the administrators shall enjoy an offreckoning of two per cent upon the parcels which are weighed off within the year, and three per cent upon those that remain in the warehouses beyond that time; and in the same manner, in the other administrations where this article is received, as was granted by the resolution of government of the 28th of December, 1754.

ART. VI. The new cloth-warehouses.

1. The administrator of these warehouses, shall receive for every chest of opium, without distinction as to size, delivered out of this administration to the privileged society, without having any thing to do with those who buy opium from the society, one rixdollar and a half, and no more, which shall be paid by the society.

2. As, by resolution of this government of the 9th of May, 1752, it was determined, that, from that time forward, the public sales of the Company's goods in the city, should be held at the house of the venduemaster, agreeable to that resolution, five per cent of their amount shall be deducted, to the charge of the Company, and to be divided in the following manner: namely, three per cent to the venduemaster, and one-half per cent to his auctioneer, provided that they shall each be answerable, *pro rato*, for the debts of the purchasers, that is, the former for six-sevenths, and the latter for one-seventh; and of the remaining one and a half per cent, one per cent shall be given to the senior merchants of the castle, that is one-half per cent to each; and the other one-half per cent, to the administrator in the cloth-warehouse.

ART. VII. The retail-warehouse.

1. The administrator in this administration, shall regulate himself, in the sale of goods, by the market-price of the city, and shall form a monthly price-current, subject

to the approbation of the director general, provided European articles yield an advance of no less than thirty, and Indian goods an advance of twenty-five per cent; but the members of the government shall be at liberty to pay for such goods as they take out of this administration, for their use, at the rate of two-thirds of the customary advance which would have been made on the sale.

2. The particular emoluments of the administrator, shall consist in the per centages for waste, &c. which he shall henceforward be allowed to take, in the stead of those settled by resolution of the 16th of January, 1682, and shall be as follow, to wit: upon woollens, velvets, and other European manufactures, which are delivered by the ell, and not by whole pieces, four and one-half per cent.

Upon mace, cinnamon, and nutmegs, fold and furnished, seven and one-half per cent.

Upon cloves, four and one-half per cent.

Upon colours, drugs, starch, and wares of that description, seven and one-half per cent.

3. And although this administrator shall be at liberty to dispose of the spices arising from the above allowed overweights, among the articles sold for ready money, yet he shall be specially bound not to sell, either on his own or any other account, any more spices, or participate directly or indirectly therein; and he shall, moreover, be required to keep a strict watch over suspected purchasers, even if the spices be only fetched by the single pound, and against all frauds, as much as may be in his power, agreeable to the resolution of this government of the 25th of July, 1702.

ART. VIII. The grain-magazine.

The administrators in this magazine shall, with respect to the rice, content themselves with the one hundred pounds allowed upon each last, by resolution of the 16th of October, 1744; and further, upon the paddee, cadjang, beans, peas, wheat, rye, and biscuit, five per cent and no more: the paddee to be made good by the bundle or sheaf, in the same way, and of the same weight, as when received, that is, twenty pounds per sheaf, or, after deduction of the abovementioned five per cent for waste, nineteen pounds.

ART. IX. The iron-magazine.

Instead of the offreckoning, regulated by the resolutions

tions of the 17th of October, 1692, and the 25th of October, 1695, the following allowances shall be given in this administration, and which shall be the only special emoluments of it, namely :

- four per cent upon iron in bars ;
- four per cent upon iron-hoops ;
- six per cent upon lockplates ;
- two per cent upon steel ;
- three per cent upon nails.

And the prohibition of the sale, for ready money, of iron, steel, and nails, as well the licensed sale of wrought iron utensils, out of the iron-magazine, contained in the resolution of the 23d of August, 1754, continue both in force.

ART. X. The provision-magazine.

1. The barrels of beef, pork, and butter, the leagers, half leagers, whole and half awms of liquid wares, shall be accounted for, by pounds and cans, as by the present custom, without further offreckoning.

2. In future, likewise, all empty casks, leagers, &c. shall be accounted for, excepting the casks, which are sold together with their contents, at the present customary quarterly sales, agreeable to the resolution of the 23d of August, 1754, as also the beer casks delivered to members of the government, upon account of consumption or payment.

3. The administrators shall continue to enjoy the ancient customary perquisites, consisting of one barrel of Friesland butter, one leager of French wine, twenty-four bundles of wax candles, and one hundred and forty-four pounds of tamarinds, for both, every year.

4. Upon delivery, or accounting for beer, wine, and other liquors, as likewise vinegar, and oil, in as far as the latter is received from other places, but not upon train-oil, and arrack, nor upon the cocoanut-oil purchased here, they shall be allowed to write off, six per cent ; and upon receipt, nothing shall be stated differently from what has been received, either as to quality or quantity, which, together with a due attention to the unadulterated state of both dry and liquid goods, is specially considered as part of the duty of their office.

5. They shall also not receive any thing else than good liquors, but shall give up the rest upon receipt, either for sale, or throwing away.

6. But upon the becoming four of any casks received in good order, without their fault or neglect, they shall have to make separate declarations thereof, under presentation of oath, and request an offreckoning thereof, and they shall not reckon any per centage upon such casks.

7. Upon liquors received in bottles, they shall be allowed to write off, five per cent, and no more.

8. Upon cotton, wax, and salt, also, five per cent.

9. Upon wax candles, two per cent.

10. For each leager of arrack fold and delivered to the Company, but not of such as are given in payment of excise duties, they shall receive one ducatoon from the deliverer, that is, one rixdollar and five-eighths; but they shall not be allowed any thing for leakage or waste, to which they shall have to pay proper care.

ART. XI. The armoury.

The warden shall not, after the 31st of August, 1755, charge any part of the five per cent formerly allowed to him, by resolution of the 22d of March, 1753, upon what is repaired, nor upon what is purchased or sold, but instead thereof, he shall have, once a year, the sum of one thousand rixdollars, or two thousand four hundred gilders, out of the cash of the Company, under such penalties, with respect to infidelity, or fraudulent conduct, as have been before mentioned, with regard to the administrators in general, SECT. II. ART. III.

ART. XII. The artillery.

The chief of the artillery, or the major, shall equally, instead of the five per cent formerly allowed to him, by resolution of the 12th of December, 1752, upon the materials, &c. used, receive, once a year, in lieu thereof, the sum of one thousand rixdollars, or two thousand four hundred gilders, out of the Company's cash, provided he pays proper attention that every thing be done in his department to the best advantage of the Company, and nothing used needlessly, wasted, or neglected, under such penalties as are before detailed.

ART. XIII. The *Ambagts-kwartier*.

The respective masters therein shall continue to enjoy the perquisites given to them by resolution of the 6th of March, 1752, consisting, besides the fixed number of coolies, of the following :

1. To the master-carpenter, five per cent upon the timber

timber and nails used under his direction, in the service of the Company, and which he shall have to deliver to the Company at fifty per cent advance, in order that if any timber or nails be found to have been otherwise disposed of by him, they may be ascertained to have been obtained in an unlawful manner.

2. To the master-bricklayer, also five per cent upon the materials used under his direction, in the service of the Company, to be delivered in the same manner to the Company.

3. To the master-smith, plumber, and brazier, besides the settled per centages for waste, namely, thirteen per cent upon iron, steel, and lockplates, and ten per cent upon copper and lead, five per cent on the metals, &c. used, equally to be delivered, with an advance of fifty per cent, to the Company.

4. But as the emoluments of the master-plumber and brazier are rather trifling, and those of the master-bricklayer are very considerable, the latter shall pay, out of the benefits upon his perquisites, two hundred rixdollars to the master-plumber, and one hundred rixdollars to the master-brazier.

5. The master-gunpowder-maker, shall be allowed to charge twelve pounds tare for ever double bag of saltpetre, agreeable to the resolution of the 16th of January, 1748.

ART. XIV. The admiralty-wharf.

The servants in this department shall likewise continue to enjoy a part of the emoluments granted to them, both at the wharf and at the island *Onrust*, by the resolution of the 2d of June, 1752, namely :

1. The master at *Onrust*, and the master-carpenters, coopers, and smiths, shall, each in their respective departments, have five per cent upon what they work up, and an hundred per cent advance thereon; while the master-cooper, shall have to make good to the master-mapmaker, one-third of his share.

2. The master-sailmaker, and the superintendent of the rope-warehouse shall also have five per cent, to be delivered to the Company at invoice-prices, and to be divided, one-half to the commandant, one-sixth to the vice-commandant, one-sixth to the master-sail-maker, and one-sixth to the superintendent of the rope-warehouse; with this proviso, that the said five per cent shall not be taken upon

upon cables and heavy cordage, nor upon timber for masts, nor upon casks, anchors, or grapnels, all which remain exempted therefrom.

3. The master at *Onrust*, shall retain, as a perquisite for himself, the providing of the boxes for copper, out of the remnants of wood, at the usual price of fourteen stivers apiece.

4. The wages of the caulkers employed under the master-carpenter, at the admiralty-wharf, being abolished, fifty able men-slaves of the Company, shall be employed in that work, who shall remain night and day upon the wharf, and for whom a place shall be appropriated, while no more shall be charged for each of the said slaves than *f.27* 1, for clothing, per annum.

5. The monthly wages of the slaves appointed by the said resolution of the 2d of June, 1752, for the servants of the admiralty-wharf, to wit:

for the bookkeeper of equipment	12
for the under-bookkeeper	6
for the deputy of the commandant	6
for the first journeyman-carpenter, at the admiralty-wharf	6
for the second ditto	4
for the first journeyman of the train	5
for the second ditto	3
for the first journeyman-smith	4
for the first journeyman-cooper	3
for the first journeyman-mapmaker	3
for the first journeyman-sailmaker	4
for the second ditto	2
for the mate of the wharf	6
for the boatswain of ditto	4

shall be withheld, if it be found that the abovementioned number of slaves be not actually employed at that place, in the service of the Company.

6. The number of hired slaves, at the island *Onrust*, shall provisionally be fixed at four hundred, and the rest shall be fetched away; and the number of the Company's own slaves shall be kept at two hundred and fifty.

SECTION IV. *Of what the several Administrators shall have to pay out again.*

ART I. a. All the administrators hereunder named, but

but no other, shall have to make good fundry payments, out of their beforementioned allowed perquisites, but no more, than is here specially detailed, namely :

b. To the senior merchants of the castle, and to the commercial clerks, in order to contribute towards affording them a proper means of subsistence, yearly, the following, viz :

The administrators of the westside, 225 rixdollars to the senior merchants of the castle, and 25 rixdollars to the commercial clerks.

The administrators at the water-gate, 225 and 25 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators of the sugar-warehouse, 270 and 30 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators of the islands *Onrust* and *de Kuyper*, 540 and 60 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators in the cloth-warehouse, 180 and 20 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators of the grain-magazine, 180 and 20 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators of the provision-magazine, 540 and 60 rixdollars, as above.

The cashier of the daily cash, 2,250 and 250 rixdollars, as above. Together, 4,410 rixdollars to the senior merchants of the castle, and 490 rixdollars to the commercial clerks.

c. The warehouse-keepers shall also have to pay to the commissioners in the warehouses, specially named hereunder, and to no others, and likewise not to any extraordinary commissioners, clerks, or others, under any denomination, or pretext, whatever; in order, that the said commissioners may equally have an assistant means of subsistence, besides their actual wages; namely :

to the commissioners of the westside	rixdollars	250
to the commissioners at the water-gate	ditto	250
to the commissioners in the sugar-warehouse, ditto		300
to the commissioners at <i>Onrust</i> and <i>de Kuyper</i> , ditto		300
to the commissioners in the treasury, to be made good by the administrator of the		
retail-warehouse	ditto	200
to the commissioners in the grain-magazine, ditto		200
to the commissioners in the provision-magazine	ditto	300

together, rixdollars 1,800

ART.

ART. II. All fees that shall be given, besides the above, by the aforesaid administrators, to European, or other servants, writers, &c. in their employ in the warehouscs, shall depend wholly upon their good will, in order that those inferior officers may be the more attentive, properly to perform their service; the more so, as they have to answer for their conduct, and are responsible for every thing.

SECTION V. *Of the great Winkelier.*

1. The payment of the monthly wages shall henceforward be allowed to be made wholly in ready money, instead of half in money, and half in goods, as was formerly customary; but the rixdollar of forty-eight heavy stivers shall be carried to account, at sixty-four light stivers, according to ancient practice.

2. Instead of the six stivers per rixdollar, formerly deducted, upon the half of the wages paid in goods, in order to receive that half likewise, in specie, three stivers shall henceforward be deducted, per rixdollar, upon the whole.

3. Of these three stivers, two shall be carried to account of the Company, and the remaining one is to be for him, and his second, namely, two thirds for the former, and one third for the latter, for their further support; and nothing more shall be charged or deducted, with regard to the pay of the Company's servants.

Given at *Batavia*, in the castle, this 28th of August, anno 1755.

No. II.

GENERAL REGULATION,

Respecting the commissions, and emoluments, of the Company's servants, and sundry orders to be observed at the several out-factories.

SECTION I. *Of the Factories in general.*

ART. I. The respective cashiers shall enjoy one half per cent, upon all monies paid in monthly payments, upon

upon warrants ; namely, for cooley-hire, purchase of materials, and other necessaries for daily use, and whatever has relation thereto ; but the said half per cent, shall be wholly borne by the respective providers of goods, or receivers of money.

ART. II. The administrators and masters of the working people, shall, each in his respective department, enjoy five per cent, either in overweight, overmeasure, or in money, from the provider, upon the purchase of all small articles, required for the service of the marine department ; repairs of vessels, and likewise for the necessary repairs and additions to the public works ; and for ordinary consumption, provided they charge nothing for loss in weight or measure ; but upon goods, on which the said five per cent is not enjoyed, they may charge five per cent to the Company, provided, that, in accounting for the use made of the aforesaid goods, they state the real quantities employed.

ART. III. The governors, and directors, also commandants, and seconds in governments, directorships, or commanderies, but no inferior chiefs or servants, shall be allowed to take what they want, for their own use, out of the Company's warehouses, upon paying fifty per cent advance upon European, and thirty per cent upon Indian commodities, spices excepted, provided they make a moderate use of this privilege.

ART. IV. To the respective administrators, warehouse-keepers, or ships' officers, who deliver goods at *Batavia*, shall be allowed such deficiencies as are fixed by this regulation, together with the offreckonings, settled by resolution of the 15th of August, 1752, and amplifications thereof, provided they do not gain any thing by the purchase, as it is the intention, that only one of these advantages, and not both, shall be enjoyed at the same time.

ART. V. The respective masters shall further be allowed, for waste, thirteen per cent upon the iron worked up, eight per cent upon the steel and lead worked up, and five per cent upon the copper worked up, provided that what is wrought be weighed by commissioners.

ART. VI. The chiefs of the respective factories, and the comptrollers of equipment, at those places whither ships are dispatched, to *Batavia*, or to other places in India, shall be allowed to ship, for their own account, in a ship of 150 feet, the quantity of two lasts ; in a ship of 136 feet, the quantity of one last and a half ; and in a ship

ship of 130 feet, the quantity of one last; in sugar, rice, arrack, or any other produce of the country, or articles of trade, which are not prohibited; with the faculty, in those factories where piecegoods are purchased as mentioned below, for each last so allowed, to put on board, namely, from *Coromandel*, one package of the size of ten corgees salempores, and from *Bengal*, and other places (*Surat*, and the other factories where the Company reserve to themselves the exclusive trade in piecegoods, excepted), two packages of the same size; the whole, however, under such restrictions, as are detailed in the amplification of the regulation of the year 1743, respecting the luggage of the seamen, dated the 16th of September, 1745, and the posterior order, relative to the export and import of piecegoods, dated the 29th of March, 1754.

SECTION II. Of AMBOTNA.

ART. I. The two first servants of the Company in this government, shall enjoy—

Five per cent upon the sale of cottons, and other goods, sold by auction, for guarantee of the money; two thirds to the first, and one third to the second in command.

ART. II. The collective servants of the Company, as undermentioned, shall have twenty per cent, overweight, upon the cloves collected, provided they deliver them to the Company, at the purchase-prices; and the same shall be distributed in the following proportions, viz :

	100th parts.
to the governor	40
to the second	12
to the captain commandant	4
to the captain lieutenant	2
to the lieutenants and ensigns	2
to the chief of <i>Saparoua</i>	7
to the chief of <i>Hila</i>	7
to the fiscal	6
to the chief of <i>Harouko</i>	3
to the chief of <i>Larike</i>	3
to the chief of <i>Bouro</i>	2
to the secretary of the council of polity, the garrison book-keepers, the cashier, and the purveyor, each 2, thus	8
to the resident of <i>Manipa</i>	1

to the secretary of the council of justice . . .	(97)
to the writer of the commercial ledger . . .	1
to the writer of the military ledger . . .	1

 100

SECTION II. *Of BANDA.*

ART. I. The two first servants of the Company in this government, shall enjoy five per cent upon the sale of cottons, and other goods, sold by auction, for guarantee of the money.

ART. II. The collective servants of the Company, as undermentioned, shall have seven per cent, overweight, upon the nutmegs collected, provided they deliver them to the Company at the purchase prices; and the same shall be distributed in the following proportions, viz:

100th parts.

to the governor	42
to the second	14
to the captain	4
to the captain lieutenant	2
to the lieutenants and ensigns	4
to the chief of <i>Pulo Ay</i>	8
to the fiscal	8
to the chief of <i>Wayer</i>	3
to the secretary of the council of polity	3
to the garrison-book-keeper	3
to the resident of <i>Ourién</i>	3
to the first clerk of the council of polity	}
to the writer of the commercial ledger,	
and cashier	
to the writer of the military ledger,	
and purveyor	}
to the secretary of common pleas, &c.	
each, one and a half, thus	6

 100

ART. III. Upon the nutmegs shipped off, six per cent shall be written off, for loss in weight by drying; and what is profited thereby, shall, under the restriction mentioned respecting the overweights, be one half for the benefit

benefit of the governor, and the other half for the benefit of the person in whose keeping the nutmegs shall have been, till shipped off to *Batavia*.

ART. IV. The chief administrator, together with the chiefs of *Lonthoir*, *Pulo Ay*, and *Wayer*, shall, with regard to the mace and nutmegs collected by them respectively, be allowed the following charges :

For receiving, treading down, and embalming of a whole or an half *sockel* * of mace, twelve stivers.

For shipping off ditto, six stivers.

For every hundred *sockels*, one piece of bagging, and one pound of sealing-wax.

For each *sockel*, a mat; and twelve per cent for the loss by treading down; likewise, five bundles of rattans of 30 ps. each, to bind round them.

For receiving and preparing with lime, of 1000 pounds nutmegs, eight stivers.

For garbling of 1000 pounds nutmegs, three gilders.

For shipping off 3000 pounds nutmegs, two gilders eight stivers.

For burning of 1000 pounds nutmegs, eight stivers.

For preparing 1000 pounds nutmegs, one barrel of lime.

ART. V. Besides which, the chief of *Lonthoir* shall have, for the keeping of an orembay, and the necessary slaves, *f.*120 per annum, for which, however, the shed for the orembay, shall be kept free of expence to the Company.

For every last of goods received at the factory, *f.*2 8, for discharging the same, for which he shall also provide the necessary craft.

For whitewashing, plaistering, painting, and cleaning of the Company's buildings, sixty gilders per annum.

For bamboos, for daily consumption, *f.*36 per annum, and *f.*24 for establishing a guardhouse at *Batoe Hollanda*, for the convenience of the people, stationed to look out for the ships that arrive, besides 1000 pieces of atap, which the Company furnish.

ART. VI. In the same manner, the chief of *Pulo Ay* may charge :

For keeping of an orembay, and the necessary slaves,

* A kind of saron, weighing about 160lb.

f.192, for which the shed shall be kept free of expence to the Company.

For every last of goods received at the factory, f.2 8, for discharging the same, for which he shall equally provide the necessary craft.

For whitewashing, plaistering, painting, and cleaning the Company's buildings, just as at *Lonthoir*, f. 60.

For bamboos, for daily use, f.36, per annum.

For the establishment of a guardhouse, at the west rock, for the convenience of the watchmen, as at *Lonthoir*, exclusive of f.1000 pieces of atap, f.24 per annum.

For keeping the sewers in repair, and the cisterns clean, f.36, per annum.

ART. VII. The resident of *Wayer*, shall also have :

For keeping an orembay, in the same manner as at *Lonthoir*, f.120.

For every last of goods received at the factory, f.2 8, for discharging the same, providing the necessary craft.

For whitewashing and cleaning the Company's buildings, f.36.

For bamboos, for daily use, f.24, per annum.

ART. VIII. The resident of *Ourién*, shall have :

For whitewashing, plaistering, &c. of the fort, f.24, per annum.

For bamboos, for daily use, f.19 4.

ART. IX. The commissioners annually sent to the southeasterly, and southwestern isles, shall have, to defray their expences, five per cent upon the sale of piece-goods, and upon the purchase of goods, and of slaves ; likewise, when the number of slaves required, for the Company, are procured, they shall each be allowed to bring with them three or four slaves for themselves : and they may carry backwards and forwards, and trade in such articles as the Company do not traffic in, without prejudice to the Company.

ART. X. The secretary of the council of polity shall receive, for registering, and acquitting the passes of the vessels belonging to free inhabitants and natives, twelve stivers for a greater pass, and two stivers for a lesser pass.

ART. XI. Instead of what was before allowed to the governor, out of the import-duties, he shall henceforward receive out of them, f.240 per month, for table-money.

ART. XII. And, likewise, for the superintendence of the affairs and money of the orphanchamber, one-half per cent of the interests of the capitals lent out by that body *.

SECTION IV. *Of TERNATE.*

ART. I. The two first servants of the Company in this government, shall have five per cent upon the sale, by auction, of piecegoods and other articles, for guarantee of the money;

And one per cent upon the gold collected, shall be divided between the governor and the collector.

ART. II. The governor shall, moreover, receive *f.*2,400 per annum, to defray his expences, in entertaining the native princes.

ART. III. The secretary shall have twenty-four stivers for the greater, and six stivers for the lesser, passes.

SECTION V. *Of MACASSER.*

ART. I. The two first servants of the Company in this government shall have five per cent upon the sale of piecegoods, &c. sold by auction, for guarantee of the money.

ART. II. The governor shall, moreover, receive in one sum, three thousand gilders per annum, in order to defray his expences on entertaining the native princes and nobles; and no provisions, or necessaries, shall be charged in account to the Company, as used on such occasions.

ART. III. Of the overmeasure of grain, the Company shall be made good for one ganting, one ganting and a quarter of $7\frac{1}{2}$ lb. and out of the other quarter, shall be made good the waste, and the remainder shall be divided between the governor, the head-administrator, and the *dispenser* or purveyor, and the latter shall not be allowed to bring in any undermeasure.

SECTION VI. *Of JAVA'S NORTHEAST COAST.*

ART. I. The Company's civil servants shall collectively

* The proprietors of the nutmeg-plantations in *Banda* have, generally, been adventurers, with little or no capital; who, favoured by the governors, have purchased the plantations, by borrowing one-half of the purchase-money of the orphanchamber, and leaving the remainder upon mortgage of the land.

receive

receive five per cent upon the farms of the customduties, and other royalties.

ART. II. The distribution thereof, shall be made in the following manner, viz :

At Samarang;		100th parts.
to the governor	30	
to the head administrator	10	
to the two merchants	10	
to the four junior merchants	8	
to the translator	2	
At Soerakarta;		
to the chief	10	
to the second	6	
to the military book-keeper	2	
to the translator	2	
At Sourabaya;		
to the chief	10	
to the administrator	5	
to the fiscal	3	
to the translator	2	

100.

ART. III. The governor shall, moreover, likewise retain what the fraud-regents together contribute to him, to the amount of one thousand seven hundred and thirteen Spanish dollars.

ART. IV. The particular emoluments of the residents at the subordinate factories, *Tagal, Damak, Joana, Rembang, Japara*, and *Griffie*, shall consist in what they can, by good conduct and economy, save out of the following allowances :

1. Of the allowed 100 pounds overweight upon every coyang of rice, purchased for the Company, according to the resolutions of the 30th of November, 1747, and the 9th of July, 1754, as no loss may be brought to account upon grain.

2. Of the *f.5*, fixed for charges upon every last of rice shipped off, and the further fixed charges, and freights.

3. The expedition money for the passes, provided it do not exceed the amount of the stamp required for such pass; the passes from *Tagal* and *Rembang*, to the opposite there, remain, however, fixed at five rixdollars.

SECTION VII. *Of BANJERMASSING.*

The resident here, shall receive five per cent upon the pepper purchased.

SECTION VIII. *Of TIMOR.*

ART. I. The chief of this settlement shall have, instead of what was before allowed to him out of the duties of import and export, in one sum, two thousand gilders per annum, for defrayment of his expences.

ART. II. Upon the piecegoods sold here by auction, the chief and his second shall have five per cent for guarantee of the money, two thirds to the former, and one third to the latter.

SECTION IX. *Of JAPAN.*

ART. I. The Company's servants here shall have, for defrayment of their heavy expences, five per cent upon the whole of both sales and purchases, which shall be distributed as follows, viz :

	100th parts.
to the chief going away	44
to the chief coming on	22
to the merchant warehousekeeper	14
to the junior merchant, commercial book-keeper	10
to the pennists	10

ART. II. The chief shall further receive, as a compensation for the extraordinary charges which he is obliged to incur every year, in clothes and otherwise, upon the journey to the court of *Fedo*, three thousand eight hundred gilders per annum.

SECTION X. *Of CHINA.*

ART. I. The supercargoes shall, henceforward, not charge any more for commission, than two per cent upon the purchase of goods, and one-half per cent upon the gold collected; but nothing upon sales, or upon specie; and the said commissions shall be divided, as shall be every year settled by the instruction, and the fiscal and secretary shall receive a portion double to that of the pennists.

ART. II. The supercargoes, and further servants, are allowed to bring with them, on their return, one thousand picols of tea, at the freight of two and a half rix-dollars per picol, neat tea; and on going, they shall be allowed to take with them, from here, the 60 lasts as before allowed, namely:

the director	20 lasts.
the first supercargo, as senior merchant . . .	13
the second, as merchant	7
the third, ditto	4
the fourth, as junior merchant	3
the fifth, ditto	2
the sixth and seventh	3
the eighth and ninth	3
the rest	5

60 lasts.

SECTION XI. *Of COCHINCHINA* *.

ART. I. The supercargoes shall only charge, for commission, five per cent, upon the purchase of goods; but nothing upon sales, or upon specie.

ART. II. The distribution thereof, shall be made agreeable to the instructions given with them.

ART. III. The supercargoes are allowed to take with them, from here, the number of lasts before allowed, namely:

the first, as merchant	7 lasts.
the second, if a merchant	5
if a junior merchant	4
the third, as junior merchant	3

SECTION XII. *The Voyage between SURAT and CHINA* †.

The supercargo of the ship that goes from *Surat* to *China*, shall, together with the director, equally and jointly, receive five per cent upon the goods purchased at *Surat*, but not upon the tin, or other goods, taken in on the passage; neither shall any thing be received upon the

* No trade has, for many years, been carried on to *Cochinchina*, by the Dutch.

† This voyage has equally been long abandoned.

sale, which shall be under the joint management of this supercargo, and those in *China*.

SECTION XIII. *Of MALACCA.*

ART. I. The Company's qualified servants shall, henceforward, have one fourth part of the six per cent custom-duty, not including the stamp, anchorage, and passage duties.

ART. II. The distribution thereof, shall be made in the following manner, namely:

	fourth parts.
to the governor	40
to the second	15
to the fiscal	10
to the shebandar, or receiver	10
to the chief of the military	5
to the winkelier	5
to another junior merchant	5
to the secretary of the council of justice	2½
to the comptroller of equipment	2½
to the writer of the commercial ledger	2½
to the dispenser	2½
	<hr/>
	100

ART. III. The governor shall, moreover, receive for every picol of tin purchased, one gilder, including that of *Pera*.

ART. IV. The commissioners to either shore of the straits, shall have five per cent upon the purchase and sale of goods, also one per cent upon the gold they collect, and they shall defray their own travelling expenses,

SECTION XIV. *Of SUMATRA'S WEST COAST.*

ART. I. The commandant and both the administrators shall have five per cent upon the goods sold, upon credit, to the Padang merchants, each in equal proportions, provided they guarantee the debts; but if the first mentioned declines to have any share therein, which shall be left to his choice, then both the administrators shall divide the whole equally between them.

ART. II. Upon the same condition, the resident of

Pulo

Pulo Chinco, shall have five per cent upon the goods sold by him, upon credit, to the merchants.

ART. III. The resident of *Baras*, shall be allowed to deduct five per cent from the first quality benzoin and camphor, purchased by him, provided he remain answerable for the goodness of the article.

SECTION XV. Of BENGAL.

ART. I. Upon the purchase of opium, a commission shall be charged of five per cent, which shall be divided between the director, the head administrator, and the chief at *Patna*, in the following manner, viz:

To the director, four tenths; to the head administrator, two tenths; to the chief at *Patna*, three tenths; and to the second there, one tenth.

Item. Upon the sale of goods sold by auction, five per cent, for guarantee of the money, two-thirds to the director, and one-third to the second.

ART. II. The first in the cloth-warehouse, shall have one per mil of the amount of all the piecegoods ordered at *Hongly*, which shall be carried to account of charges on merchandize.

ART. III. The materials for packages shall be charged in account, at what they really cost, and five per cent shall be received upon them, by those who have to provide them; but their account shall be exhibited, upon any alteration in the prices, or, at least, once every year, to the council of polity.

ART. IV. To the residents at the mint, is allowed the hiring of two peons, one palankeen, and one setcahars, provided that for the same no more than *f.400* be charged by each, for one year, which shall be carried to account of mint-charges.

ART. V. To the two first servants at *Cassimbazar*, is allowed the overweight upon the silk collected by them; two-thirds, and one-third.

ART. VI. The servants at *Patna* shall equally enjoy five per cent upon the materials used in packages, in the same manner as is settled by ART. III.

ART. VII. For the national visits at *Hongly*, the director shall, each time, be allowed to charge to the Company five or six hundred gilders.

ART. VIII. The fiscal shall have one-half of all intercepted

cepted and confiscated contraband goods, provided he satisfy the informers; and if the vessels, guards, and servants employed in the revenue-service, amount to much more than three thousand gilders, the exceed shall be borne by him.

SECTION XVI. Of COROMANDEL.

ART. I. The fiscals shall henceforward have one-half of all intercepted and confiscated contraband goods, provided they satisfy the informers, and pay the necessary guards and servants out of their own pockets.

ART. II. Upon nilly, caliatourwood, and whatever else the administrators do not purchase themselves at fixed prices, but which is provided by others, they shall receive from the provider five per cent, either in over-weight, overmeasure, or in money; further, one per cent more upon caliatourwood, because it must be shipped off with that allowance for draft; besides which, two per cent shall be reckoned for loss in weight by drying, and two per cent for sawing, and the loss occasioned thereby; which is all that shall be allowed to be written off upon those articles.

ART. III. For materials for packing, provided that the packages be duly furnished, the warehousekeeper shall charge:

For a bale of committers, penascoes, boelangs, moorees, doepetys, sailcloth, pattamarapoes, camboys, chintzes, tepoys, and the like, three dungarees of eight cobidos, six goenys, eight pounds of cordage, and two pounds of yarn; and if embalmed in oilcloth, three gilders for the oilcloth, one gilder for cotton, and two stivers for sealing-wax and oil.

For a bale of Guinea stuffs, salempores, parcalles, dungarees, betellees, chiavonys, &c. four dungarees, six goenys, nine pounds of cordage, and two pounds of yarn, or for the whole, ten gilders; item, for what is embalmed in oilcloth *f.* 4 10, for cotton, *f.* 1 4, and for sealingwax, &c. two stivers.

For a chest to pack chintzes, four Chinese planks, and one pound of nails.

For packs of fishskins, &c. four goenys, six pounds of cordage, and one pound of yarn.

For cases of spices, upon opening and closing them, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of nails, and $\frac{1}{12}$ dungarees.

For chests of copper, $\frac{1}{8}$ pound of nails, and for sealing of each chest, eight pennings; item, two pennings for sealing of the bags.

For an oilcloth of eight cobidos, *f.2 10.*

For the goenys corpays, or covering-cloths which are used in the warehouses, annually, at *Negapatnam*, *f.200.*

For the goeny-bags for yearly consumption, *f.500* at *Negapatnam.*

For straw, to lay under the rice and pepper, annually, *f.100*; the charges of housing and delivering, shall be charged in the same manner as heretofore.

ART. IV. The cashiers of the southern factories, shall charge—

for a hog of 100 pounds	<i>f.10 0</i>
and in the northern part of <i>Coromandel</i>	8 0
for an ox of 200 pounds	15 0
for each goat	1 5
for firewood, at <i>Negapatnam</i> , and <i>Portonovo</i> , per 1000	6 0
at <i>Sadraspatnam</i> , per bundle	0 3
at <i>Palliacatta</i> , per bundle	0 2
in North <i>Coromandel</i> , per thony	24 0

ART. V. The dispenser, upon purchasing the oil, may take five per cent for himself, from the provider, either in measure or in money, charging the real price to the Company, and he shall, therefore, make good all undermeasure, while the price must be given in, when necessary, or, at least, once a year, to the council of polity; but it shall not be allowable, without express orders from this government, to pay more than one pagoda of *f.4 16*, per seven measures, weighing 28 pounds.

ART. VI. The comptroller of equipment may furnish the coir in the same manner as the dispenser of the oil, but not at a higher rate than 7 pagodas per 480 pounds.

ART. VII. The gunner may bring to account—

for a bundle of straw	<i>f.0 6</i>
for $2\frac{1}{2}$ tok poenak	0 10
for a buffalo	14 0
for charcoal, for making 100 pounds of gun- powder	7 0

ART. VIII. For the articles consumed every year in the warehouses, may be charged and written off, as follows:

for

	for goenys, carpays, or covering-cloths.	for little goeny-bags.	for straw to lay under the rice and pepper.
at <i>Masulipatnam</i>	f.100	f.100	f.20
at <i>Sadraspatnam</i>	150	100	20
at <i>Palliacatta</i>	100	100	20
at <i>Portonovo</i>	50	60	10
at <i>Jaggernaikpoeram</i>	50	60	10
at <i>Bemelipatnam</i>	50	60	10.

ART. IX. The chief at *Portonovo*, and the cashier there, may divide together what they can save out of the payment of the duties.

SECTION XVII. Of CEYLON.

ART. I. The head administrator, and the warehouse-keepers, shall have five per cent upon the piecegoods sold by auction, for guarantee of the money, two-thirds to the former, and one-third to the latter.

ART. II. The Company's servants shall have one-fourth of the import and export duties at *Colombo*, *Punto Gallo*, and at *Trinconomale*, but at no other places, which shall be distributed in the following manner, viz :

Of those of *Colombo* and *Punto Gallo*

	100th parts
to the governor	24
to the head-administrator	8
to the deslave of <i>Colombo</i>	3
to the major	3
to six merchants, each 3, thus	18
to twelve junior merchants at <i>Colombo</i> , each 1½, thus 18	
to the comptroller of equipment at <i>Colombo</i>	1½
to the commandant of <i>Punto Gallo</i>	8
to the deslave of <i>Punto Gallo</i>	3
to the second of <i>Punto Gallo</i>	3
to one captain and five junior merchants, at <i>Punto Gallo</i> , each 1½, thus	9
to the comptroller of equipment at <i>Punto Gallo</i>	1

 100

Of those of *Trinconomale*.

to the chief	50
to the second	20
to the fiscal	15
to the chief of the military	15

 100

ART.

ART. III. The governor shall have five, and the commissioners for farming the pearlbanks three, per cent, upon the amount thereof, provided they bring no charges to account, and make good their own expences; also upon the chancos-fishery, the governor shall have five, and the chief of *Manaar*, or *Tulucorin*, three per cent.

ART. IV. The governor shall also receive upon the areca warrants, one-fourth rixdollar per ammonam.

ART. V. On the other hand, all emoluments which were formerly enjoyed, either as costumado, parestle, or for any favours, offices, or titles, shall entirely cease. Yet when titles of honour are bestowed upon any of the natives, they shall pay something for custom, exclusive of a reasonable charge for the act, to those of the secretary's office, and a certain amount shall be fixed for each dignity, which shall be for the benefit of the poor of *Ceylon*. No dons, however, shall be created than among the proper castes, and those who may now enjoy the title of don among the inferior castes, and especially among the Pareas, shall be deprived of it.

ART. VI. The deslave of *Colombo* shall, in particular, enjoy:

1. Small fines, not exceeding the amount of five rixdollars.

2. The dekkums*, which the inhabitants have, from ancient times, been bound to contribute, consisting of a few baskets of lingalese fugar, pifang, and other trifles, not exceeding the value of nine or ten rixdollars.

ART. VII. The chief of *Caliture* shall receive for the ferry there, five, six, or seven rixdollars per month, out of which the ferryman and rowers shall be maintained.

ART. VIII. The chief of *Negombo* shall enjoy:

1. The customary overmeasure upon the areca, which is bought in small quantities, out of which he shall make good the waste; and the quarter rixdollar, formerly given to him upon each ammonam, shall be abolished.

2. Five per cent upon the oil, upon furnishing it to the Company at the purchase-price.

ART. IX. The chief of *Hangwelle* shall receive a rent of four rixdollars per annum, for a grove of cocoanut-trees, at *Old Hangwelle*.

* A species of tribute, equivalent to capitation-money.

ART. X. The chief of *Jaffnapatnam* shall enjoy :

1. Small fines, not exceeding the amount of six rix-dollars ; item, the forfeitures, detailed in the order respecting the narrowing or destroying of roads, being one-half rixdollar for the broad, and one-quarter rixdollar for the narrow, roads.

2. The contributions which the inhabitants of the district of *Wanny* yearly give to the deffave out of their crop of nilly, exclusive of the tithes to the Company, as practised from time immemorial.

ART. XI. The thombo-keeper (receiver of the revenues), at *Jaffnapatnam*, shall take the several fees for registering of acts of appointment of native officers, &c. specified below—(then follows a specification of such fees and offices, comprized under eight heads).

ART. XII. The secretary at *Jaffnapatnam* shall receive the several dues upon all acts and documents appointed by the list of fees of the year 1709, renewed in 1744 ; as likewise some trifling fees for the acts of native servants, and licenses granted there, according to ancient practice.

ART. XIII. The commandant of *Punto Gallo* shall enjoy the revenues of the village of *Himmene* granted to him, twelve pounds of fish per day for his table, according to the conditions of farm ; and the pingos *, given by the chiefs of the villages, one pingo per week, together with such other pingos as may be presented voluntarily by others.

ART. XIV. The deffave of *Mature* shall have :

1. What has of old been granted to him by the Company, consisting in the revenues of a village for provisions, and the table-perquisites, for which such qualified servants, ministers, &c. as come there shall be lodged and entertained ; item, now and then a few trifles from individuals, of the value of two or three, or at the most six or seven, rixdollars.

2. Now and then such small fines of five or six rix-dollars as may be imposed upon natives of consideration who misbehave themselves, and who may not, according to the laws and customs of the country be punished with the cane or chiambok.

* Contributions towards furnishing the table of the chief.

ART. XV. The secretary at *Punto Gallo*, shall have, besides his fees for preparing of papers, and the profits of the office of vendue-master, three pounds of fish per day, appointed to be given to him as chief of the fishers, by the conditions of the farm.

ART. XVI. The superintendent of the district of *Punto Gallo*, shall have fifty rixdollars per annum, for travelling-expences, the passage-money at *Bentote*, two pounds of fish per day, such occasional pingos as do not amount in value to more than one-quarter rixdollar, &c.

ART. XVII. The chief at *Tutocorin* may keep for himself two pieces of cotton, of those which shall have been presented to him, by the merchants, regents, and other natives, as perquisites, or fees.

ART. XVIII. To the chief of *Calpetty* is granted :

1. For each country-vessel that arrives from *Coromandel*, four rixdollars, and from *Colombo*, *Jaffnapatnam*, or *Manaar*, two rixdollars.

2. For signing the passes of each country-vessel that goes to *Coromandel*, *Jaffnapatnam*, or *Manaar*, one rixdollar.

3. For each of the four thonys of the Moorish fishers, and inhabitants there, that go out annually with passes, according to custom, to fish, towards *Narecare*, two rixdollars.

4. For every thony laden with dried fish that goes from *Calpetty* to *Putulang*, one-half rixdollar.

5. For every thony going from *Calpetty* to *Putulang*, and which belongs to people of *Coromandel*, two rixdollars, for the first time.

6. The profits of the Company's garden, which have of old been given to the chiefs, for the purpose of lodging and entertaining the Company's servants who pass by here, amounting to ten or twelve rixdollars per month.

7. Upon a good fishery, two or three rixdollars every year from each of the four thonys.

8. Two-thirds of the fines, the other third being for the benefit of the poor.

9. The Moorish, or Gentoo fishers, who are free from feudal service, shall give to him every year, at the new year, a present consisting of cottons, or three or four rixdollars.

10. When areca-nuts are brought to *Putulang*, and delivered

livered to the Company, the merchants shall give two small baskets of those nuts as a present.

11. Also one basket of singelee-feed, when brought to *Putulang*.

12. The boatmen that come from the coast, shall give, according to ancient custom, a small part of their cargo, also a basket with rice or nilly.

13. The fishers shall give, according to ancient custom, eight pounds of fish per day; and, lastly, when a thony comes from *Putulang*, with grain or other provisions, they shall give, as a present, a bunch of 100 betel-leaves, and two rolls of jaggree-sugar.

ART. XIX. The chief of *Manaar* shall enjoy:

1. The usual contribution, for renewal of the passes of all the country-vessels which pass through the straits there, in order to lodge and entertain such of the Company's servants as may travel that way.

2. Of the certificates which are given by the secretary there for some of the Coromandel slaves brought by the boatmen, one-half rixdollar per head.

3. For the beasts of burthen, sold by the inhabitants there to those of *Jassnapatnam*, four stivers.

4. For permission to the coast-boatmen, or to the inhabitants, for the free purchase of singelee-feed in the village of *Bengale*, from three to six rixdollars, according to the quantity intended to be purchased.

5. Fines, of from three to six rixdollars, and not higher.

6. The boatmen of other places, on passing *Manaar*, shall give, according to custom, something out of their cargo, as a present.

ART. XX. Servants sent out of the island, or going into the interior parts, shall, according to the order of the 18th of October, 1748, receive double wages, during the time of their commission, and no more; excepting, however, those who are deputed to the pearl-fishery, to whom nothing extraordinary shall be given.

ART. XXI. The commandant of *Jassnapatnam* shall receive:

1. Upon the death, misconduct, or dismissal of a majoraal, cajaan, or pattangatje*, and the appointment of

* Titles of native chiefs of villages, of whom the majoraal is the chief.

new ones, ten rixdollars from a majoraal, five from a cajaal, and so on, in proportion.

2. When permission is given for the exportation of cocoanuts, or palm-laths, the exporters shall give, according to custom, one-half rixdollar; in order to encourage the importation of nilly from the opposite shore.

3. When any coast-boatmen, arriving at *Punto Pedro*, with a cargo of nilly, request to break bulk, on account of the want of grain there, or for other reasons which compel them thereto, they shall pay, for an acknowledgment, twenty-five rixdollars for each vessel.

ART. XXII. The respective fiscals of this government shall, henceforward, have one-half of all the intercepted and confiscated contraband goods, provided they satisfy the informers, and pay the necessary guards and servants out of their own pockets.

SECTION XVIII. *Of MALABAR.*

The commandant shall have one per cent upon all goods imported and exported by private persons, to be reckoned upon the sales of the former, and invoices of the latter.

SECTION XIX. *Of SURAT.*

ART. I. The director shall have:

1. One-fourth per cent upon all monies paid or received, for purchase or sale, from the feller or buyer.

2. One per cent upon all goods imported and exported by private persons, to be reckoned upon the sales of the former, and invoices of the latter.

3. One-half per cent upon all privileged goods.

But, on the other hand, the daily charges of the *darbar*, shall be made good by himself.

4. He shall receive six thousand gilders at once, every year, and no more, for the native peons and servants, including their board-wages, while the director is absent from the lodge.

ART. II. The second shall receive one-fourth per cent upon all monies which are disbursed for the purchase of goods.

ART. III. The fiscal shall have:

1. One-half per cent upon all goods imported and exported

ported by private persons, to be reckoned upon the sales of the former, and invoices of the latter.

2. Also one-half per cent upon all privilege goods.

3. One-half of all intercepted and confiscated contraband goods, provided he satisfy the informers, and pay the necessary guards and servants out of his own pocket.

ART. IV. The military shall collectively receive—

125 pounds of pepper every year

120 maunds (or *f.*30 for) firewood

10 ditto (or 6 for) salt and

10 pots (or 12 for) vinegar } per month.

The commanders of vessels, the smith, the cooper, the provost, and the gunner, shall receive in the same proportion as the military, or ten stivers per man, per month.

Each chamber shall have, for night-use, six pounds of oil per month.

Neither seamen or soldiers, and much less the native soldiers, shall be allowed any extra wages or board.

ART. V. The warehousekeeper shall have, upon all weighable goods that are purchased, the overweight, which must be made good by the deliverer, namely—

upon cotton, five pounds per candil, or two-thirds per cent ;

upon cotton-yarn, one per cent ;

upon indigo, one and a half per cent ;

upon wheat, two per cent ;

upon cashoo, one and a half per cent ;

upon sealingwax, one per cent ;

upon soap, two per cent ;

upon poetsjok, galls olibanum, false amber, borax, and such goods as are imported from abroad, nothing ; but upon all others in proportion.

2dly, For weigh-money, seven stivers and a half per candil, of all weighable goods bought and sold.

3dly, What he can save out of the undermentioned allowances :

1. For keeping in repair the tent for the piecegoods, with its appurtenances, *f.*825 per annum.

2. For 2000 Bengal goeny-bags, so as they are used, *f.*525.

3. For charges upon receipt of goods for the subordinate factories, when received by water, *f.*1 10, for six bales

bales of piecegoods, and twelve bales of cotton-yarn, or indigo.

4. For ditto, when received by land, *f.1* 10, for thirty-two of the former, and sixty-four of the latter.

5. For charges upon examining the goods that come from the subordinate factories, *f.11* 4—for every package that is really opened.

6. For charges upon removing the goods from the lodge or warehouses to the tent, *f.1* 10—in the same manner as by No. 3.

7. For ditto, when removed again for some cause or other, to the warehouses, *f.1* 10—in the same manner as by No. 4.

8. For charges upon chiapping the goods, fifteen stivers for every package that is opened and chiapped.

9. For charges upon weighing the packs, bales, and boxes, 32 for *f.1* 10.

10. For charges upon shipping ditto, *f.1* 10—for six bales of piecegoods, and twelve bales of cotton-yarn and indigo.

11. For charges upon landing, sorting, weighing, and entering of the commodities imported, eighteen stivers and twelve pennings per candil of 690 pounds.

12. For charges upon unloading of chests, boxes, &c. and carrying them into the latty, *f.1* 2 8.

13. For charges upon weighing out the commodities imported, either out of the latty, or out of the warehouses, *f.1* 10.

14. For charges upon conveying of goods out of the latty into the warehouses, and housing and stowing of them there, *f.1* 10.

15. For conveying of chests and boxes from the latty to the warehouses, one with another, for each, *f.1* 2 8.

16. For charges on garbling 100*lb.* nutmegs, nine stivers and six pennings.

17. For charges incurred at the annual visitation and inventory of the warehouses, *f.22* 10.

18. For charges upon transferring of warehouses, *f.45*.

19. For charges upon weighing and receiving indigo, poetsjok, false amber, olibanum, myrrh, borax, gum, galls, &c. eleven stivers and four pennings per 100 pounds.

20. For all other small charges relative to his department, and not included in the above, *f.* 19 per annum.

21. For packing and embaling of every bale, one with another, provided they are not too small, and that with respect to the largest, no package shall exceed 500 pounds in weight.

Against which he shall have to pay out of his own pocket—

a. The native weighers ;

b. A native, for the purpose of keeping note of the cooleyhire, &c.

ART. VI. The secretary shall have, besides the settled fees for the preparing of documents—

for the sea-letter of a ship or vessel of more than 800 candil, *f.* 75 ;

for ditto, under 800 candil, *f.* 37 10 ;

of which, however, he shall give one-third to the first sworn clerk.

ART. VII. The factors, or chiefs of the subordinate factories, shall have what they can save—

1. Out of the three hundred gilders per month paid for ordinary and extraordinary charges, in which, however, are not included the customary annual present, paper, pens, and medicines, nor the charges of the durbar, which last are to be borne by the broker, or agent, and the others by the Company.

2. Out of the charges in the invoices, or properly charges upon merchandize, which are fixed at one and a half per cent.

3. Out of the charges upon packing and embaling the goods sent off, which are to be regulated in the same manner as is detailed in ART. V. No. 21. with respect to the warehousekeeper at *Surat*.

Of all which emoluments they shall have to give one-third to the seconds in their respective factories.

ART. VIII. The comptroller of equipment shall have—

1. What he can save for himself upon receiving ;

a. For the monthly expences of the Company's vessels, or the wages, provisions, &c. of the seamen serving therein, including candles and other small articles, viz.

For fourteen hands employed therein, during the rainy season, or from the 1st of July, to the middle of August, *f.* 142 10 per month.

For thirty-two hands, from the end of August till the ships arrive, including the schooner to look out, *f*.414 per month.

For sixty-five hands, during the time the ships are here, or from their arrival till the end of May, *f*.840 per month.

And the lastmentioned *f*.840 is to be calculated as follows:

for a schooner with ten hands . . .	<i>f</i> .130	10
for four vessels with nine hands, each		
<i>f</i> .117 or	468	
for a horry with eight hands	103	10
for a country-boat with eleven hands .	138	

f.840

b. For keeping the same under cover as the Company are accustomed, viz.

for a schooner, *f*.90—every year

for a horry, *f*.30—ditto

for a country-boat, &c. *f*.30—ditto.

2. For keeping in repair the cistern-ropes in the Company's garden, *f*.36 per annum.

3. Five per cent upon the expences of keeping in repair, the leathern bags for the cisterns, the leathern pipes for the fire-engine, and fifty fire-buckets, and for repairing the roofs, &c. of the Company's outhouses, &c. provided he charges only the real cost, and renders a yearly account thereof to the council of polity.

4. For the bamboos, brooms, earthen pots, &c. required for the service of the Company's garden and wharf, 65 rupees, or *f*.97 10.

5. For the ballast wanted, viz.

for a horry of 20 lafts, *f*.15.

for one of 15 ditto, " 12.

6. For heightening the Company's garden, as allowed by letter of the 20th of August, 1754, *f*.37 10 per annum.

7. For baskets for putting on board the ballast, to each vessel, *f*.6 15.

8. For sieves for the ballast, *f*.4 10 per annum.

9. For all other goods wanted in his department, either for the equipment of vessels, or for the reparation of the Company's buildings in the outer town, according

to the rates fixed by a price-current thereof, which shall be annually framed on the 1st of February, by the council of polity.

10. He shall likewise have, or else the persons who go out to drag for anchors, one-fourth of the value of the anchors and grapnels belonging to private merchants, which shall be recovered, but nothing upon those belonging to the Company.

And, on the other hand, he shall be bound—

1st, To render a proper account every year.

2dly, To keep every thing in due order.

3dly, To charge nothing for cooley-hire, &c. but to have all labour done by the seamen in the service of the Company.

ART. IX. The dispenser, or purveyor, shall have what he can save upon being paid—

1. For the monthly keep of a horse, *f.22 10.*

2. For keeping a carriage, *f.18* per month.

3. For keeping a draught-ox, *f.15* per month.

4. For the monthly charges of the stable, agreeable to the letter of the 20th of August, 1754, *f.21.*

5. For providing the offices with sealingwax, ink, sand, and tape, *f.5* per month.

6. For keeping in repair the great cistern before the lodge, with the appurtenances thereof, also according to the said letter of the 20th of August, 1754, *f.97 10* per annum.

7. For keeping in repair all the water-bags for the draught-oxen; item, the leathern buckets, ropes, &c. belonging thereto; *f.60* per annum.

8. For keeping the fire-engine in order, together with the leathern pipe, and buckets, the real cost shall be charged, and he shall receive thereon five per cent, also, agreeable to the said letter.

9. For charges to the keepers of the church, for brooms, baskets, pots, &c. *f.27* per annum.

10. For tinning and repairing the kitchen-utensils of the director, pennists, and military, *f.27* per four months.

11. For starch, for binding of books, *f.15* per annum.

12. For heightening and smoothing the streets in the city, according to the abovementioned letter of the 20th of August, 1754, *f.37 10* per annum.

13. For keeping the roofs, &c. of the Company's own and hired buildings in repair, repairing the hearths and

and chimnies, &c. the real cost shall be charged, and he shall receive thereon five per cent, with the same clause as is inserted in No. 3. of the last article, with respect to the comptroller of equipment.

14. For every ox, or cow, which he furnishes to the ships for refreshment, including all charges, *f.* 18.

15. For every basket of greens, *f.* 1 13 12.

16. For all other goods required in his department, the same as the comptroller of equipment, by ART. VIII. No. 9.

And, on the other hand, he shall be bound, to keep every thing in due order, and to render account annually to the council of polity.

ART. X. The head-surgeon shall receive for board of the sick in the hospital, nine stivers per day per head, provided that nothing more be charged to the Company for them, and that he provide the cribs in the hospital for the service of the sick.

ART. XI. Those who are now and then employed in conveying the country-vessels to *Cambaya, Baroche, Bannagra*, &c. and command, for that purpose, the Company's schooners and horrys, on account of the number of pirates swarming in these seas, shall have one-fourth of the freight which they can, on such occasions, earn by the Company's vessels, according to the allowance granted by letter of the 20th of August, 1751.

In the castle at *Batavia*, the 31st of May, 1755.

No. III.

REGULATION

Respecting the receipt and delivery of ships' cargoes, as well at *Batavia*, as at the respective out-factories, with what relates thereto.

ART. I. The commanding officers of ships shall, to prevent ill treatment on one side, and unfounded complaints on the other, be always themselves present at the receipt of goods on board their ships out of the Company's warehouses, or delivery thereof into them, and look to what they receive, as well with respect to quality

lity as to quantity, for the commanders shall be equally liable for the inferior quality, or bad condition of the goods, as for any deficiency in the quantity; and if, by indisposition, or for other sufficient reasons, they are not able to be themselves present, they shall appoint thereto a lieutenant or mate, or other person in whose fidelity and attention they can confide. And even if they, or, as before said, those who may be placed in their stead, declare that they will receive any thing upon the word and good faith of those who have to ship them, yet it shall not be allowed them so to do.

ART. II. When they receive any thing, it shall accurately be noted down, and specially inserted in the bill of loading, that the shipment is made by gross or neat weight, by weight, measure, or tale; likewise what tare is reckoned upon each box, bag, &c. and how much has been weighed at once, in order that care may be taken at the delivery, that no goods be required of them in any other mode than they may have received them.

ART. III. Each weigh shall not be taken at more than five or six hundred pounds, and the scale shall rather preponderate in favour of the goods than of the weights, and the overweights noted in the bills of loading shall be accounted for.

ART. IV. Gold and silver, either in bullion or in coin, shall be delivered to the ships' commanders in bars, or in specie, by tale and by weight, and likewise be so delivered out by them, although it shall be conveyed, as customary, in chests, which shall be locked and sealed, and of which the keys shall be sealed up separately, and sent with them, provided that at the delivery out, care be taken that as many bars or pieces be placed at once upon the scale; as at the receipt, and which shall equally be inserted in the bills of loading.

ART. V. In the same manner the commanders of ships shall receive iron, copper, tin, tutenague, lead, sugar, grain, pepper, and other weighable articles, by their net weights, and deliver them out so again.

ART. VI. All kinds of piecegoods must equally be weighed by single packages, and described upon the outermost goeny, on the side, where the pieces and assortment are not specified, in order that the packages, chests, and bales, of piecegoods, be not only delivered respectively to the ships' commanders, and to the warehousekeeper,

housekeeper, by tale, and by assortment, but likewise by weight.

ART. VII. But all packages, bales, chests, and boxes, with coarse and fine cottons, gold and silver, cloth and lace, velvets, woollens, and other manufactures, silk, and silk cloths, stationary, curiosities, toys, as likewise the baskets and casks of camphor, colours, nails, &c. the bottles or jars of quicksilver; and in short, all such goods, which, according to the order included in ART. XXI. are packed up, and properly enbaled, as well as appearing outwardly in good condition, shall only be weighed by gross weight, and the weight specified thereon, and so delivered to the ships' commanders, who shall nevertheless have leave, if any one of those packs, bales, or other package, appear in the least suspicious to them, to have them opened, in order, by examination, to find out what may be the reason thereof, although it shall be sufficient for their responsibility, that they deliver them unopened and well conditioned, by gross weight, according to the bill of loading, or note of weight, to be given with each vessel.

ART. VIII. And in case such bales, cases, &c. as have been carefully and properly stowed, and which appear outwardly in good condition, that is to say, that the weight agrees, and the bagging, cordage, and seals of the packages, are found and unbroken, any articles be found defective, or short, the amount thereof, and the loss thence ensuing, shall be for account of the packers or dispatchers, namely, one-half for the administrators, and one-half for the commissioners in the warehouses.

ART. IX. But if the packages be not found in good condition, or that they do not agree in gross weight, with the gross weight when shipped, or that they have not been carefully and properly stowed, then the commanders of the vessels shall be liable for what is spoiled or wanting, and shall be charged on account for the same, at the selling-price.

ART. X. Yet the warehousekeepers, or administrators, shall in no wise be allowed to receive the damaged bales, &c. unopened into their warehouses; but they shall be obliged, immediately on their arrival, to open, unpack, and examine them, in the presence of the ship's commander, and of commissioners specially appointed thereto, who shall make an exact and detailed report of the result, in order that the ship's commander may be accordingly

made liable, or liberated from being responsible for the damage and loss.

ART. XI. In the same manner they shall not be at liberty to open any sound or undamaged packages, &c. by themselves, upon pain of being made answerable for whatever may be found short, or spoiled, but the same shall equally be done in the presence of the ship's commander, if he can be found, and of special commissioners, who shall have to weigh them immediately on arrival, and note down, if they find any difference with the gross weight, according to the note of shipment, and upon discovering any diminution, or damage, they shall make an affidavit thereof, which shall be laid before, or sent up to, this government, together with the note of shipment.

ART. XII. The commissioners shall thus stand as umpires between the receiver and deliverer; and no others shall therefore be appointed to that office, than persons of unquestioned honour, who shall, at the same time, possess sufficient knowledge and ability to distinguish truly, whether each party be properly dealt by, and whether the articles, which the administrators may choose to consider as defective or damaged, are really, and *bona fide*, defective and damaged.

ART. XIII. With respect to the shipment and delivery of the four chief spices, viz. cloves, nutmegs, mace, and cinnamon, the orders successively issued on that subject, shall continue to be observed.

ART. XIV. When moist or wet cloves, or nutmegs, are landed, all the cases shall be separately weighed by commissioners appointed thereto, who shall specify, in their report, how much more they weigh than by the invoice, and how much the tares of the cases are more or less, then such cloves or nutmegs shall be spread out, for twice the space of six hours, in the sun, to dry, and the day after the drying has been completed, they shall be reweighed, and put into the cases again, and the real underweight, if such be found to be the case, shall be calculated, and acted upon accordingly; they shall afterwards be placed upon stands, in dry warehouses, with salt, and not water, in the troughs placed under them; moreover, the ships' commanders shall be required to render an account how the said moisture occurred, and the decision shall be referred to the council of India, together with such considerations as may occur on the subject; without any prejudice to the prosecution of the
fiscal,

fiscal, and immediate indemnification at the selling-prices, if any fraud be found to have been committed therein.

ART. xv. But with respect to wine, spirits, and other liquids, in casks, it is hereby ordered, that no casks shall be delivered to the ships, or sent from here, but what contain the following quantity of cans, and are branded accordingly, namely:

a whole leager	400 cans	} of ten <i>muts</i> each can.
a half ditto	200 ditto	
a whole awm	100 ditto	
a half ditto	50 ditto	
a beer-cask	110 ditto	

ART. xvi. The above casks shall be delivered to the ships' commanders, in good condition, and full, who shall be allowed for carrying them over, such diminution as is settled by the regulation respecting the offreckoning of underweights, &c. dated the 15th of August, 1752.

ART. xvii. But the diminutions upon casks, allowed by the abovementioned regulation to the respective administrators, are hereby annulled, and, instead thereof, they shall only be required to make good;

	At <i>Batavia</i> and <i>Ceylon</i> .	At the other Factories.
for one whole leager . . . cans	363 . . .	360
for one half ditto	180 . . .	180
for one whole awm	90 . . .	90
for one half ditto	45 . . .	45
for one cask of beer	100 . . .	100
for one barrel of beef . pounds	420 . . .	400
for one ditto of pork	340 . . .	320
for one ditto of butter	320 . . .	310

and for one pot of Bengal butter, at *Batavia*, and other places where it is brought direct from *Bengal*, 10 pounds less, and at factories which receive it from *Batavia*, or at second hand, 20 pounds less, than it has been shipped for from *Bengal*, which is at present, 150 pounds, thus . . . 140 . . . 130

ART. xviii. What is given to the ships for their consumption, shall be accounted for by the commanders, in the same manner as detailed above, with regard to the respective factories, exclusive of *Ceylon*, without any further offreckoning.

ART. XIX. And in order that the ships' commanders may not allege that they have received bad liquor for good, without foundation, they shall have, upon receipt thereof, to taste the liquor themselves, together with the commissioners.

ART. XX. No casks shall be unladen before they have been examined, gauged, and tasted, while lying in the tier, by commissioners acquainted with the articles, and who shall give a declaration of the stowage and condition thereof; for if the goods be found not to have been properly stowed in the hold, the ship's commander shall be answerable for the damage accruing thereby; and nothing shall be written off, for lost, broken, or damaged goods, unless it appear, by such a declaration, that they have been properly stowed, and that the xxivth article hereof has been strictly followed.

ART. XXI. At the packing up of the goods, which the ships' commanders, agreeable to ART. VII. receive and deliver by gross weight, not only two special commissioners shall be present, but the warehousekeepers shall likewise have to put into each pack, case, or chest, a note signed by them, and by the commissioners, specifying the quantity of goods actually packed therein; and it will be sufficient, that the administrators render account according to those notes, although a larger quantity may appear upon the invoice, provided they give immediate advice of such difference, where and how it behooves.

ART. XXII. For further security, they shall have to seal all packs, chests, and cases of finer wares, namely, the chests and cases with a cross-cord, and the packs or bales by means of an inner bag under the goeny, as has been customary of old.

ART. XXIII. And if in such packs, cases, or chests, any thing be found defective or short, the indemnification thereof shall be borne by the warehousekeeper, or warehousekeepers, together with the commissioners, of the place where the shipment was made, each one half, agreeable to ART. VIII.

ART. XXIV. Upon the dispatch of the goods from the shore, after the person that receives them there has signed a receipt for them, in the shipment-book of the warehouse, a sealed and signed note shall be given to each lighter or boat, in which the weight, the number, and marks, and numbers of the packs, chests, and cases, shall be

be separately specified; and if any thing be found upon reweighing on board, and confrontation with the note of shipment, not to agree therewith, or that it appears that any thing have become wet, been pilfered, or damaged in any way, then the person who may have the command on board, to whom the notes of shipment are directed, shall not only instantly give intimation thereof, to his captain, and to the people on shore, in order that the cause of such damage or deficiency be immediately discovered; but likewise, he shall, if necessary, have a sufficient declaration drawn up by the officers on board, respecting the situation of the goods; and such commanding officer, shall, if guilty of neglect or silence in such cases, be answerable for the loss which the Company may incur in consequence.

ART. xxv. The same shall take place upon redelivery of the goods from on board; when the first lieutenant, or mate, or he that fills that station, shall duly weigh off to the quartermasters or headmen of the lighters, or boats, all packs, chests, and cases, which are discharged, and make an accurate note thereof, which shall be signed by the person who delivers out the goods, and by him that receives them, sealed, and so addressed to the administrator or warehousekeeper, into whose charge the goods are to be committed; and it shall, therefore, be part of the duty of the administrators or warehousekeepers, when every thing is delivered to them conformably to the note of discharge, to put thereto the word "received," over their signature, and upon discovering any difference between the contents of the note, and the number, weight, or condition of the packages, &c. to give immediate advice thereof to the senior merchants, or head-administrators, or such as are thereto appointed, as likewise, in both cases, to keep copies of the notes, in the warehouses; and the quartermasters, or headmen, of the lighters, or boats, shall be answerable for the defects which shall appear in the goods.

ART. xxvi. Saltpetre from *Bengal* must be shipped in double goeny-bags, and the goenys shall be delivered to the ships' commanders, not by bundles, but by tale, and be so inserted in the bills of loading.

ART. xxvii. The commissioners in the warehouses, and those who receive goods, shall, upon their shipment by country-boats or vessels, to be carried on board;
first

first attentively examine the same, whether they are not leaky, and whether they are perfectly in a fit state for conveying the goods; and finding any thing wrong, in this respect, they shall make the same known to the chief in command, in order that the same be provided for, upon pain that, if they neglect doing so, they shall be answerable for the consequences, equally with the warehouse-keeper, and the comptroller of equipment who hires or provides the craft.

ART. XXVIII. Respecting the stowage within board, the ships' commanders shall have to take care, that the least valuable goods be placed, under the cookroom, under the butlery, and near the mainmast; those that are most valuable, as, gold and silver cloths, laces, &c. out of the hold, in the cabin; and that the pots of butter and casks of oil be so stowed, that, upon any thing breaking, other goods may not be damaged thereby; and further, to take all possible precautions to prevent leakage, according to the tenor of the instructions of the assembly of seventeen on that head, dated the 13th of August, 1728, which shall always be considered as an appurtenance hereto; upon pain, that if the contrary take place, they shall be obliged to make good all the loss, or damage, that may accrue thereby.

ART. XXIX. Due time shall be given to the ships' commanders after receipt of their cargoes, to be able to examine whether they have actually received what they must sign bills of loading for; which it shall be the business of the senior merchants of the castle to attend to, at this place, and of the respective chiefs, and head administrators, at the out-factories.

ART. XXX. The ships' commanders, their officers, and crews, and the administrators, or warehousekeepers, and their servants, shall not only behave towards each other with all proper and practicable civility and good manners, but shall also act with good faith and equity towards each other, insomuch, that, neither shall any fraud or deceit be practised on either side, nor any attempt be made, or occasion or consent be given thereto.

ART. XXXI. And if any one act otherwise, either on shore, or on board, as, filling up of liquors with water, moistning the pepper, spices, cochineal, or other dry articles, or placing in or near them, oil, or wet goods, of any kind, the same shall be subject to corporal punishment, according to the circumstances of the case.

ART,

ART. XXXII. But especially and more severely shall be punished, those who may make use of false measures, weights, beams, or scales, or even simply be in possession of such false instruments in their administrations; or those who measure or weigh falsely, with good weights and measures. And the Commissioners themselves shall not be excepted or exempted from the same penalties, if they can be proved to have had knowledge thereof, and not to have prevented, or given information of the same.

ART. XXXIII. And in order that the ships' commanders may be assured that they shall not be liable to make good any deficiency that may arise from a difference between the weights used in one factory, and those used in another, which might prove of great prejudice to them, particularly with regard to copper and tin, a fifty pounder of the weights by which they receive those metals, shall always be put into a separate box in their presence, sealed, and given with them; and at the factory whither they are bound, the same shall be opened in their presence, compared with the weights there used, and upon discovery of any difference, the delivery shall be made in proportion thereto; after which it shall again be directly sealed up, and sent back.

ART. XXXIV. Moreover, all measures, weights, beams, and scales, which the administrators have in use, or in their administrations, shall be narrowly examined twice every year, and compared with the standards kept by the ordinary masters of assize, and special commissioners, who, upon finding any thing wrong, shall directly seal up whatever is defective, and give due information thereof, at the proper place.

ART. XXXV. And the commissioners deputed for such semestral examination, shall have always to be mindful to examine whether the measures, weights, beams, and scales, are mended, or furnished with rings, &c. and to make mention, in their written report, both of the quantity and condition thereof; and in particular to set down whether the measures, weights, &c. are duly assized, of which notice shall always be taken, for their information of what they have to do, in the warrants issued to them for that purpose.

In the castle of *Batavia*, the 20th of August, 1753.

No. IV.

AN account of the returns made to the United Provinces from the East-Indies, from the time the Dutch first traded thither, down to the year 1724, specifying the number of ships every year, the invoice-amounts of their cargoes, and (from 1613 to 1713) the particular sums for which the different chambers were interested therein:
Years. Ships.

1597	3	the <i>Maurice</i> , the <i>Hollandia</i> , and the <i>Duisken</i> (the <i>Pigeon</i>), arrived, the 10th of August, in the Texel, under the direction of CORNELIUS HOUTMAN; but little profit was made upon this first adventure.
1599	4	laden with mace, nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, and pepper.
1600	2	laden with spices.
1601	2	others with full cargoes.
	7	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
	3	with mace, nutmegs, and cloves.
	4	with pepper, &c.
1603	5	mostly laden with pepper, likewise some cloves, and mace, and also eubeba.
	3	with full cargoes of nutmegs, mace, and cloves.
	2	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
	9	with full cargoes of spices, pepper, &c.
1604	7	with full cargoes of spices, cinnamon, &c.
1605	1	carack, a prize, valued at 74,000,000.
	4	with full cargoes of cloves, &c.
1606	3	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
1607	3	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.

APPENDIX.

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(No. IV. continued.)

Totals.

Years.	Ships.	
1608	5	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
	1	with a full cargo of cloves.
1609	4	with full cargoes, consisting of spices, damasses, &c.
1610	1	with a full cargo of nutmegs and mace.
	3 or 4	uncertain.
1611	5	with full cargoes, consisting of pepper, indigo, silk, cotton-yarn, diamonds, &c.
1612	8 or 9	uncertain.
1613		

thus far the invoice-values of the cargoes are not exactly ascertained; but are calculated, viz.
 77 ships, each at least £100,000 £7,700,000. 0. 0.
 the carack valued at 4,000,000. 0. 0.
 12 or 13, uncertain 1,400,000. 0. 0.

	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	
1614	2	288,963. 18.	4.	164,562. 5. 12.	127,180. 11. 10.	23,982. 6. 12.	£13,100,000. 0. 0.
1615	5	360,509. 6. 3.	3.	32,448. 16. 14.	39,786. 17. 8.	192,448. 12. 9.	433,526. 4. 0.
1616	5	241,166. 8. 7.	10.	189,488. 0. 0.	136,414. 9. 3.	56,536. 2. 10.	511,672. 4. 9.
1617	4	207,497. 16. 10.	1.	378,760. 16. 7.	56,536. 2. 10.	189,114. 7. 1.	566,063. 17. 14.
1618	8	681,142. 13. 1.	1.	301,675. 2. 1.	461,997. 16. 9.	233,009. 0. 1.	573,007. 4. 0.
1619	5	310,373. 18. 6.	3.	214,262. 15. 11.	201,255. 12. 13.	228,120. 6. 0.	£305,543. 19. 3.
1620	6	449,864. 0. 3.	4.	218,111. 7. 8.	130,150. 18. 9.	245,984. 5. 0.	43,074,046. 17. 0.
1621	6	779,653. 1. 4.	14.	675,313. 9. 8.	201,255. 12. 13.	228,120. 6. 0.	913,136. 15. 15.
1622	8	743,188. 2. 14.	15.	130,166. 6. 6.	189,606. 13. 0.	245,984. 5. 0.	1,004,030. 1. 0.
1623	8	643,024. 15. 11.	13.	189,606. 13. 0.	130,150. 18. 9.	245,984. 5. 0.	£3,776,992. 4. 15.
				£30,933. 9. 12.			£1,301,909. 9. 13.

Years.	Ships.	(No. IV. continued.)							Totals,
		Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.		
1624	6	364,812.	109,310.	18.	358,711.	18.	2.	822,935.	
1625	4	716,696.	266,763.	17.	112,224.	15.	8.	983,460.	
1626	10	1,167,735.	610,609.	11.	112,224.	15.	8.	1,926,018.	
1627	7	904,166.	431,033.	4.	112,224.	15.	8.	1,748,009.	
1628	7	1,127,590.	431,033.	4.	88,622.	3.	4.	2,050,307.	
1629	7	663,865.	294,731.	5.	121,066.	14.	12.	1,132,263.	
1630	9	1,196,787.	581,424.	16.	373,482.	7.	3.	2,541,215.	
1631	7	947,576.	289,880.	10.	373,482.	7.	3.	2,541,215.	
1632	7	1,228,832.	800,700.	3.	70,259.	2.	6.	1,506,668.	
1633	7	1,182,428.	347,905.	13.	166,063.	15.	8.	2,099,772.	
1634	7	956,525.	563,489.	15.	816,5010.	17.	10.	1,861,409.	
1635	6	1,443,827.	401,775.	0.	194,399.	13.	8.	2,050,036.	
1636	8	1,094,387.	524,335.	0.	204,433.	14.	4.	1,895,549.	
1637	8	1,557,838.	721,867.	6.	136,413.	10.	11.	2,673,200.	
1638	7	1,051,973.	270,730.	10.	168,440.	11.	7.	1,679,070.	
1639	8	1,513,731.	1,149,549.	6.	416,130.	11.	10.	3,079,412.	
1640	10	1,284,035.	568,744.	18.	136,684.	10.	8.	2,842,405.	
1641	10	1,605,562.	753,087.	13.	152,701.	9.	7.	2,900,116.	
1642	9	2,110,289.	865,521.	3.	98,571.	17.	1.	3,485,191.	
1643	10	1,345,763.	658,376.	19.	474,009.	13.	0.	2,410,731.	
1644	7	715,028.	766,942.	8.	330,937.	13.	15.	2,070,666.	
1645	8	1,672,108.	877,639.	5.	330,937.	13.	15.	2,921,806.	
1646	9	1,102,668.	602,816.	0.	289,925.	14.	14.	2,529,610.	
1647	10	1,120,414.	524,888.	10.	173,704.	12.	9.	2,151,032.	
1648	12	803,982.	513,239.	13.	166,022.	15.	13.	2,073,350.	
1649	9	1,214,522.	560,270.	3.	312,456.	1.	5.	2,243,106.	
1650	9	874,919.	415,688.	0.	251,574.	2.	10.	1,941,810.	
1651	11	1,253,949.	519,321.	16.	257,232.	6.	8.	2,460,097.	
1652	11	1,528,155.	791,708.	15.	267,612.	11.	3.	2,813,437.	
1653	16	2,574,846.	2,134,425.	3.	1,332,278.	5.	10.	4,745,239.	

(No. IV. continued.)

Years. Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delt.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	Totals.
1654 4	1903,325.	88,122.	7. 5.	...	...	100,587.	379,034.
1655 10	1208,540.	664,688.	14. 11.	288,282.	8. 12.	...	379,034.
among which	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
one hundred ship	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1656 10	1,525,189.	480,982.	6. 12.	151,041.	18. 0.	238,714	2,467,112.
1657 10	1,511,190.	831,680.	7. 11.	166,721.	18. 6.	...	2,711,914.
1658 10	1,142,119.	694,267.	7. 11.	146,872.	9. 4.	466,158.	3,003,855.
1659 10	651,923.	349,988.	8. 11.	202,700.	7. 12.	221,571.	3,003,855.
1660 11	1,494,086.	611,669.	6. 10.	221,080.	9. 10.	276,426.	1,782,782.
1661 9	1,139,941.	581,654.	12. 4.	169,187.	10. 0.	439,432.	3,195,318.
1662 9	1,723,990.	819,038.	9. 3.	371,963.	6. 3.	...	3,133,790.
1663 10	1,760,642.	829,553.	4. 11.	355,106.	6. 5.	...	3,354,428.
1664 12	1,371,413.	679,467.	15. 14.	355,106.	6. 5.	...	3,354,428.
1665 13	1,904,663.	919,297.	17. 13.	386,122.	12. 2.	222,837.	3,354,428.
1666 7	645,546.	317,114.	0. 13.	88,721.	1. 5.	...	3,658,491.
1667 12	1,453,344.	817,793.	7. 9.	195,537.	10. 15.	72,498.	3,658,491.
1668 16	1,801,499.	578,864.	18. 1.	209,943.	14. 7.	262,569.	3,119,060.
1669 19	2,481,008.	817,469.	13. 12.	218,138.	14. 13.	127,026.	3,119,060.
1670 10	2,545,996.	1,233,897.	17. 2.	213,638.	9. 1.	160,989.	3,155,682.
1671 18	2,444,344.	1,423,060.	11. 1.	298,488.	12. 8.	143,260.	4,026,480.
1672 15	1,585,550.	1,134,039.	0. 11.	308,392.	19. 22.	337,871.	5,024,149.
1673 7	383,636.	302,854.	13. 11.	256,423.	18. 15.	335,576.	5,186,414.
1674 9	727,602.	535,570.	12. 8.	135,167.	13. 13.	392,398.	5,186,414.
1675 14	1,836,335.	792,691.	17. 14.	216,177.	13. 6.	283,014.	1,688,316.
1676 15	1,955,847.	1,030,463.	4. 4.	280,655.	4. 6.	183,534.	1,835,6015.
1677 15	1,726,825.	808,003.	3. 9.	1,074,196.	3. 8.	354,957.	3,549,571.
1678 11	1,347,476.	937,556.	14. 3.	70,019.	6. 1.	286,355.	4,127,056.
1679 12	1,545,777.	1,074,196.	3. 8.	238,768.	12. 2.	251,737.	5,137,548.
1680 12	1,576,321.	1,031,788.	11. 11.	225,653.	15. 11.	235,435.	3,889,604.
1681 13	2,540,546.	1,230,957.	8. 0.	306,004.	9. 12.	331,591.	3,386,556.
							5,110,897.

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	Totals.
1682	8	1,355,035.	8. 1,204,411.	6. 152,418.	15. 11,152,956.	14. 9. 60,186.	15. 5. 62,131.	6. 12. 2,887,190.
1683	11	2,475,988.	11. 1,402,819.	4. 13. 243,603.	7. 9. 186,817.	1. 11. 1,384,115.	14. 13. 236,203.	17. 9. 4,999,308.
1684	15	3,782,907.	3. 5. 1,272,335.	16. 2. 187,805.	4. 9. 338,017.	7. 1. 1,384,115.	14. 7. 315,209.	14. 13. 5,080,390.
1685	14	1,997,904.	19. 15. 927,539.	12. 7. 323,155.	0. 6. 707,750.	8. 5. 353,916.	10. 5. 383,462.	5. 11. 4,193,729.
1686	16	2,848,728.	2. 2. 1,228,999.	17. 9. 349,330.	15. 3. 386,280.	11. 0. 372,569.	12. 6. 382,737.	4. 4. 5,568,644.
1687	16	3,013,458.	9. 2. 1,513,916.	17. 13. 363,086.	17. 6. 350,271.	12. 15. 256,808.	19. 4. 133,396.	15. 12. 5,630,939.
1688	15	2,240,434.	2. 6. 987,468.	18. 10. 105,177.	11. 6. 168,527.	12. 5. 267,544.	9. 5. 316,631.	2. 5. 4,395,812.
1689	17	1,581,579.	1. 13. 920,969.	10. 14. 248,269.	19. 3. 248,062.	12. 5. 108,138.	13. 9. 268,593.	0. 1. 3,092,896.
1690	8	1,746,796.	15. 14. 869,583.	5. 14. 298,653.	6. 1. 285,491.	6. 3. 323,446.	19. 1. 315,497.	4. 4. 3,839,468.
1691	17	1,932,475.	4. 9. 277,916.	15. 1. 95,933.	8. 9. 93,728.	13. 4. 93,728.	15. 8. 201,056.	1. 7. 2,400,104.
1692	12	2,259,359.	17. 15. 1,039,366.	7. 10. 172,991.	19. 8. 283,220.	2. 0. 290,830.	13. 0. 322,820.	11. 1. 4,246,178.
1693	15	1,331,735.	1. 8. 722,817.	16. 0. 327,673.	10. 0. 290,830.	2. 8. 331,559.	13. 0. 322,820.	3. 8. 3,353,336.
1694	12	1,078,685.	5. 0. 618,515.	16. 8. 242,049.	9. 0. 240,279.	3. 8. 408,750.	18. 8. 193,653.	16. 0. 2,988,926.
1695	15	1,322,928.	13. 8. 1,607,638.	9. 0. 387,080.	8. 0. 336,015.	13. 4. 339,725.	14. 0. 384,974.	2. 8. 5,154,468.
1696	12	1,720,271.	13. 8. 885,450.	17. 0. 222,581.	2. 8. 243,037.	13. 8. 230,459.	1. 8. 230,443.	10. 8. 3,553,243.
1697	19	2,912,099.	6. 0. 1,634,621.	15. 8. 209,661.	13. 0. 218,010.	1. 0. 266,523.	18. 8. 229,600.	14. 8. 5,410,317.
1698	19	2,598,196.	6. 8. 1,548,221.	10. 8. 273,623.	3. 3. 280,528.	5. 8. 243,578.	11. 0. 429,108.	3. 8. 5,373,566.
1699	17	2,828,111.	8. 8. 1,290,616.	7. 0. 276,386.	3. 0. 283,711.	17. 8. 238,545.	13. 0. 403,918.	7. 8. 5,221,289.
1700	18	2,815,959.	3. 0. 1,235,698.	17. 0. 335,608.	15. 2. 285,369.	7. 8. 409,087.	8. 8. 243,018.	6. 0. 5,298,741.
1701	20	3,198,095.	17. 8. 1,432,345.	11. 0. 418,426.	16. 8. 415,665.	8. 0. 406,020.	0. 8. 423,148.	18. 8. 6,293,702.
1702	21	3,206,217.	16. 0. 1,774,559.	13. 8. 424,769.	15. 0. 337,228.	8. 8. 558,061.	12. 8. 425,064.	18. 0. 6,725,991.
		and wine from the Cape of Good Hope, being the first time it appears to have been brought to Holland						
1703	18	2,962,482.	2. 8. 1,402,590.	5. 0. 377,141.	6. 8. 542,129.	16. 8. 419,362.	11. 8. 473,741.	17. 8. 6,177,447.
1704	21	2,591,608.	4. 0. 1,467,732.	3. 0. 231,646.	5. 0. 314,989.	4. 8. 433,752.	8. 8. 232,876.	13. 0. 5,538,195.
1705	18	2,491,158.	4. 8. 1,112,687.	10. 8. 267,738.	16. 0. 236,098.	14. 8. 226,270.	14. 0. 269,403.	13. 0. 4,603,357.
1706	17	2,389,630.	4. 8. 1,061,372.	19. 8. 434,229.	4. 0. 237,285.	5. 8. 388,529.	5. 8. 268,552.	19. 0. 4,719,599.
1707	15	1,962,528.	18. 0. 1,033,210.	15. 0. 238,980.	10. 8. 378,239.	5. 8. 261,508.	13. 0. 334,063.	3. 0. 4,248,531.
1708	18	2,581,829.	16. 8. 1,308,016.	19. 8. 284,542.	7. 0. 394,443.	14. 8. 245,485.	8. 8. 405,410.	10. 0. 5,219,728.

No. V.

ACCOUNT of the number of ships sent out by the East-India Company of Holland, the number of men, and the amount of specie they carried, the number of ships returned, the proceeds of sales, and the dividends on the stock, from 1720 to 1729.

Years.	Ships sent out.	Crews.	Specie carried out.	Ships returned.	Proceeds of Sales.	Dividends per ct.
1720	36	8,205	f.4,125,000. 0.	26	19,597,874f. 12s. 0p.	40
1721	40	8,000	6,825,000. 0.	34	14,985,072. 13. 0.	33 $\frac{1}{2}$
1722	41	7,400	7,075,000. 0.	26	19,494,365. 19. 0.	30
1723	38	7,785	6,887,000. 0.	29	16,247,505. 17. 0.	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1724	38	6,425	7,419,000. 0.	31	20,577,447. 9. 0.	15
1725	35	6,250	7,412,500. 0.	36	19,385,441. 10. 0.	20
1726	38	6,850	7,675,000. 0.	32	21,312,626. 8. 0.	25
1727	40	6,400	8,091,994. 0.	36	18,564,986. 17. 0.	20
1728	34	5,800	5,558,100. 0.	28	20,322,402. 0. 0.	15
1729	34	6,390	4,525,000. 0.	25	18,100,116. 12. 9.	25
total in ten years		69,505	65,593,594. 0.	303	188,587,839. 17. 9.	236
average for one year		6,950	6,559,359. 8.	30 to 31	18,858,783. 19. 12.	23 $\frac{1}{2}$

No. VI.

STATEMENT of the original capital stock of the general united East-India Company of Holland, established in 1602, specifying the respective proportions in which each of the six chambers were originally interested in it.

Amsterdam	.	.	.	f.3,674,915.
Zealand	.	.	.	1,333,882.
Delft	.	.	.	470,000.
Rotterdam	.	.	.	177,400.
Hoorn	.	.	.	266,868.
Enkhuizen	.	.	.	<u>536,775.</u>

together . f.6,459,840.

divided into 2,153 actions, or shares, of f.3,000. each
and 1 ditto of 840.

No. VII.

ACCOUNT of the dividends upon the stock of the East-India Companies of Holland, from 1604 to 1780;—and of the revolutions in the value of the stock, from 1723 to 1780.

The Company of distant countries, and the Company of Magellan united, divided, in 1604 125 per cent.

1605	55
1607	10
1608	10
1613	4½

which balanced their accounts 204½

The Company concerned in the equipment of fourteen ships in 1602, divided, in - 1605 15 per cent.

1606	75
1607	40
1608	20
1609	25
1611	50
1612	37
1614	3

which balanced their accounts 265

The above dividends were, however, made by the general United East-India Company, established in 1602, to whom the liquidation of the affairs of the former Companies was committed, and who began and continued the dividends upon their own stock, as follows:

Years.	Months.	Perct.		
1610	in April	75	in mace	
	in Nov.	50	in pepper	
	15 ditto	7½	in bankmoney	
1611				
1612	in March	30	in nutmegs	at 19, 20, & 22
1613				skillings per lb.
1614				
1615				
1616				
1617				

Years.	Months.	Perct.		
1618				
1619				
1620	in April	37½	in bankmoney	
1621				
1622				
1623	in Nov.	25	in cloves	at 60 stivers pr. lb.
1624				
1625	in Aug.	20	in bankmoney	
1626				
1627	in March	12½	in bankmoney	
1628				
1629	in Jan.	25	in bankmoney	
1630				
1631	in Jan.	17½	in bankmoney	
1632				
1633	in June	12½	in bankmoney	
	in Dec.	20	in ditto	
1634				
1635	in March	20	in bankmoney	
	15 May	12½	in cloves	at 80 ft. per lb.
	20 Aug.	12½	in ditto	ditto
1636	1 March	25	in ditto	ditto
	1 Nov.	12½	in ditto	ditto
1637	1 March	15	in ditto	ditto
	1 Nov.	25	in ditto	ditto
1638	1 Oct.	10	in capelete	at 40 ft. per lb.
	1 Dec.	25	in bankmoney	
1639				
1640	1 Jan.	15	in cloves	at 80 ft. per lb.
	1 Nov.	25	in bankmoney	
1641	15 Feb.	15	in cloves	at 80 ft. per lb.
	1 Nov.	25	in ditto	at 50 ditto
1642	15 Dec.	50	in bankmoney	
1643	1 Feb.	15	in cloves	at 50 ft. per lb.
1644	1 Nov.	25	in ditto	ditto
	1 Dec.	20	in bankmoney	
1645				
1646	1 Jan.	22½	in bankmoney	
	1 Dec.	25	in ditto	
1647				
1648	1 Jan.	25	in bankmoney	
1649	1 Jan.	30	in ditto	

Years.	Months.	Per ct.	
1650	1 Jan.	20	in bankmoney
1651	1 Jan.	15	in ditto
1652	1 Jan.	25	in ditto
1653	1 Jan.	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto
1654	15 June	15	in ditto
1655	1 Jan.	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto
1656	1 Dec.	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto
1657			
1658	1 Dec.	40	in bankmoney
1659	1 Dec.	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto
1660	1 Nov.	40	in ditto
1661	15 Nov.	25	in ditto
1662			
1663	15 Nov.	30	in bankmoney
1664			
1665	15 Jan.	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	in bankmoney
1666			
1667			
1668	1 June	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in bankmoney
1669	1 July	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto
1670	2 June	40	in ditto
1671	1 June	45	in ditto
	20 July	15	in ditto
1672	2 June	15	in ditto
1673	1 June	33	in obligations on the province of Holland
1674			
1675			
1676	1 Feb.	25	in bankmoney
1677			
1678			
1679	1 Jan.	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in obligations on the general Company, repayable at the option of the Company, with 4 per ct. in- terest per annum; afterwards reduced to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per ct.
1680	1 Jan.	25	in ditto
1681	1 Jan.	22	in ditto
1682	1 July	33 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto
1683			
1684			
1685	1 Feb.	40	in bankmoney
1686	1 May	12	in ditto

Years.	Months.	Perct.	
1687	15 April	20	in bankmoney
1688	15 April	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	in ditto
1689	15 April	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	in ditto
1690	15 April	40	in ditto
1691	1 Aug.	20	in ditto
1692	15 April	25	in ditto
1693	1 April	20	in ditto
1694	1 April	20	in ditto
1695	1 Nov.	25	in ditto
1696	1 June	15	in obligations on the several chambers, at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per ann. repayable by instalments, and finally to be reimbursed in 1740.
1697	1 June	15	in ditto
1698	1 June	15	in ditto
	15 Sep.	15	in bankmoney
1699	1 June	20	in ditto
	1 Dec.	15	in ditto
1700	15 July	25	in ditto
1701	20 May	20	in ditto
1702	15 May	20	in ditto
1703	16 May	25	in ditto
1704	16 June	25	in ditto
1705	25 May	25	in ditto
1706	1 May	25	in ditto
1707	15 April	25	in ditto
1708	1 May	25	in ditto
1709	15 May	25	in ditto
1710	1 May	25	in ditto
1711	15 May	25	in ditto
1712	1 May	15	in ditto
1713	1 May	30	in ditto
1714	1 May	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	in ditto
1715	1 April	40	in ditto
1716	1 May	40	in ditto
1717	1 May	40	in ditto
1718		40	in ditto
1719		40	in ditto
1720		40	in ditto
1721		33 $\frac{1}{3}$	in ditto
1722		30	in ditto

Years.	Per ct.		Prices of the stock.	
			from	to
1723	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in bankmoney	654 per cent	631 per cent
1724	15	in ditto	603	654
1725	20	in ditto	614	660
1726	25	in ditto	658	563
1727	20	in ditto	560	658
1728	15	in ditto	655	612
1729	25	in ditto	628	679
1730	25	in ditto	715	650
1731	25	in ditto	692	742
1732	25	in ditto	779	711 $\frac{1}{2}$
1733	25	in ditto	644	788
1734	25	in ditto	754	647
1735	25	in ditto	645	714
1736	20	in ditto	756	675
1737	15	in ditto	532	586 $\frac{1}{2}$
1738	15	in ditto	585	534
1739	15	in ditto	494	572
1740	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	506	403
1741	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	391	439
1742	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	403	350
1743	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	350	434
1744	15	in ditto	407	464 $\frac{1}{2}$
1745	15	in ditto	470 $\frac{1}{2}$	420
1746	20	in ditto	368	450
1747	20	in ditto	434	369
1748	20	in ditto	366	455
1749	25	in ditto	423	493
1750	25	in ditto	489	594
1751	25	in ditto	603	575
1752	25	in ditto	580	546 $\frac{1}{2}$
1753	20	in ditto	559 $\frac{1}{2}$	534
1754	20	in ditto	555 $\frac{1}{2}$	507 $\frac{1}{2}$
1755	20	in ditto	515 $\frac{1}{2}$	407 $\frac{1}{2}$
1756	20	in ditto	404 $\frac{1}{2}$	446
1757	20	in ditto	555 $\frac{1}{2}$	507 $\frac{1}{2}$
1758	15	in ditto	458	396
1759	15	in ditto	386 $\frac{1}{2}$	417
1760	15	in ditto	414	378
1761	15	in ditto	390	335
1762	15	in ditto	323	379
1763	15	in ditto	407	353 $\frac{1}{2}$

Years.	Perct.		Prices of the stock.	
			from	to
1764	15	in bankmoney	374 per cent	406 per cent
1765	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	406	585
1766	20	in ditto	593	546
1767	20	in ditto	580 $\frac{1}{2}$	503
1768	20	in ditto	518	455
1769	20	in ditto	472	410
1770	15	in ditto	412	325
1771	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	314	386
1772	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	369	326
1773	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	323	363
1774	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	336	363
1775	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	340	357
1776	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	340	359
1777	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	355	382
1778	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	380	340
1779	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	357	322
1780	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	in ditto	328	323

No. VIII.

A STATEMENT of the various articles, and quantities of each, sold at the Dutch East-India Company's sales, from 1775 to 1779.

Articles.

	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
pounds of cinnamon	400,000	400,000	400,000	350,000	300,000
pounds of cloves	400,000	400,000	400,000	234,271	400,000
pounds of nutmegs	250,000	250,000	250,000	264,189	250,000
pounds of mace	90,000	100,000	80,000	85,000	80,000
bags of black pepper	8,297	10,667	10,000	9,546	12,300
pounds of white pepper	84,993	84,998	52,355	88,991	34,427
pounds of candied ginger	10,346	11,232	11,257	10,064	10,881
candied nutmegs	900	1,000	900	800	1,871
pounds of cowries	125,437	69,286	44,357		51,984
bottles of foy				120	120
pounds of faltpetre	2,374,083	1,286,217	2,568,315	2,350,000	3,098,838
pounds of fundry dying woods	645,231	743,842	806,123	622,125	645,200
pounds of indigo	11,364	12,261	9,460	11,256	10,338
pounds of turmeric	60,000	70,000	65,625	60,875	61,250
pounds of powder-fugar	340,657	936,975	533,918	636,006	498,289
pounds of tin	540,000	840,000	177,450	379,705	484,442
pounds of zinc	209,101	200,061	337,520	34,199	162,200
pounds of cardemom	13,654†	12,997	6,370	7,070	6,783

(No. VIII. continued.)

Articles.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
pounds of camphor	40,253	50,372	27,060	29,200	26,301
pounds of borax	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	4,000
pounds of benzoin	1,496	3,625	8,980	18,625	8,625
pounds of cathoo	8,000	4,000	1,200	1,500	2,500
pounds of dragons-blood	990	1,000	2,496		3,142
pounds of fundry gums	18,184	21,410	18,431	14,762	15,828
pounds of long pepper	10,000	15,000	16,500	9,011	17,000
pounds of cubebs	10,000	10,000	8,875	6,850	12,500
pounds of rhubarb and other roots	101,027	107,562	80,415	57,246	58,174
pounds of fago	21,603	17,812	18,348	17,706	15,607
pounds of star-anise		6,157	5,434	3,431	3,096
mother-of-pearl shells		7,000	4,295	9,016	7,014
ounces of oil of cinnamon		240	160	160	160
ounces of oil of mace	320	360	240	120	320
ounces of oil of cloves		256	256	64	320
ounces of oil of nutmegs		384	200	320	
carats of diamonds	970 $\frac{1}{2}$	549	1,339	130 $\frac{1}{2}$	41
pounds of binding rattans	3,528	3,918	37,500	18,750	18,750
pounds of tamarands			50,000	120,000	12,000
awns of Cape wine		58	52	24	52
leaguers of arrack	59	45	17		39

(No. VIII. continued.)

Articles.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
pounds of raw silk	58,388	72,271	122,321	81,498	57,313
pounds of silk thread	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	13,050
pounds of cotton yarn	78,687	77,090	90,750	71,717	108,733
pounds of Java coffee	6,176,000	5,539,250	4,256,250	4,000,000	3,710,641
pounds of tea	3,703,904	3,786,284	3,921,588	1,893,329	1,848,545
chefts of china-ware	2,557	2,066	2,098	875	1,431
pieces of silk	3,715	7,225	9,928	8,676	6,136
pieces of muslin, cottons, &c.	308,449	244,200	299,395	326,075	385,650
pieces of handkerchiefs	2,700	4,060	3,000	6,278	5,433
pieces of nankeen	35,125	34,911	47,006	24,186	27,910

No. IX.

Abstract of the *Herbarius Vivus*, or Herbal, of HENRY BERNARD OLDELARD, superintendent of the Company's garden at the *Cape of Good Hope*, in the year 1695.

- ABUTILON africanum, foliis, rugosis, et filiculis lanuginosis.
 Absinthium africanum frutescens, foliis latioribus.
 Alium africanum, flore purpurascente.
- 1 Aloe africana arborescens, montana, non spinosa, folio longissimo plicatili, flore rubro.
 - 2 Aloe africana arborescens, floribus albicantibus fragrantissimis.
 - 3 Aloe africana caulescens, foliis spinosis, maculis ab utraque parte albicantibus notatis.
 - 4 Aloe africana brevissima, crassissimoque folio, flore subviridi.
 - 5 Aloe, africano flore glabro, rigidissimo, flore subviridi.
 - 6 Aloe africana flore rubro, folio maculis ab utraque parte albicantibus notato.
 - 7 Aloe africana, flore rubro, folio, triangulari, et verrucis ab utraque parte albicantibus notato.
 - 8 Aloe africana, folio in summitate triangulari, margaritifera, flore subviridi.
 - 9 Aloe africana margaritifera, minor.
 - 10 Aloe africana foliis glaucis, margine et dorso parte superiore spinosis, flore rubro.
 - 11 Aloe africana, foliis glaucis, margine et dorso integro spinosis.
 - 12 Aloe africana caulescens, foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus.
 - 13 Aloe africana, folio triangulari longissimo, floribus luteis et foetibus.
 - 14 Aloe africana caulescens, foliis magis glaucis caulem amplectentibus, et in mucronem obtusorem desinentibus.

- 15 Aloe africana caulescens, foliis minus glaucis, caulem amplectentibus, dorso parte superiore spinosa.
- 16 Aloe africana caulescens foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus latioribus, et undequaque spinosis.
- 17 Aloe africana caulescens, foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus, dorso integro spinoso.
- 18 Aloe africana caulescens, foliis glaucis brevioribus, caulem amplectentibus, foliorum parte interna et externa non nihil spinosa.
- 19 Aloe africana caulescens, foliis glaucis brevissimis, foliorum summitate interna et externa non nihil spinosa.
- 20 Aloe africana caulescens perfoliata, glauca et non spinosa.
- 21 Aloe africana, glabro folio, minutissimis cavitatibus donato.
- 22 Aloe africana humilis, spiris inermibus et verrucis obfita.
- 23 Aloe africana humilis Arachnoidæa.
- 24 Aloe africana humilis, foliis ex albo et viridi variegatis.
- 25 Aloe africana humilis, folio non nihil reflexo, floribus ex albo et rubro variegatis.
- 26 Aloe africana humilis, folio in summitate triangulari et rigidissimo, marginibus albicantibus.
- 27 Aloe africana erecta, triangularis, et triangularifolio viscoso.
- 28 Aloe africana erecta, rotunda, folio parvo et in acumen rigidissimum exeunte.
- 1 Alaternoides africana, Ericæ foliis, floribus albicantibus et muscosis.
- 2 Alaternoides africana, Telephini legitimi nuperati folio, flore viridi.
- 3 Alaternoides africana, Lawri ferrate folio.
- 4 Alaternoides africana, Chamæspili folio rigidiori et minore, floribus albicantibus.
- 5 Alaternoides africana, Roris marini latiori et pilosiori folio, flore cæruleo.
- Althæa africana vesicaria.
- Amygdalus africana nana, flore incurvato roseo simplici, folio Mali persici angustiore.
- 1 Anæmospermos africana, foliis Cardui benedicti, florum radiis intus sulphureis.

- 2 Anæmospermos africana, foliis Plantaginis, flore sulphureo.
- 3 Anæmospermos africana, Jacobææ maritimæ foliis, flore sulphureo.
- 1 Apocynum africanum erectum, villoso fructu, Salicis folio lato, glabro.
- 2 Apocynum africanum erectum, Salicis folio lato, subhirsuto.
- 3 Apocynum africanum erectum, Salicis folio lato, glabro angusto.
- 4 Apocynum africanum humile, aizoides, siliquis erectis.
- 5 Apocynum africanum erectum, subhirsutum, foliis, undulatis.
- 6 Apocynum scandens africanum Vincæ pervincæ foliis, subincanum.
- 7 Apocynum africanum scandens, Asphodeli radice, angustissimo folio.
- 8 Apocynum africanum scandens, Lapatii folio.
- Arum æthiopicum florigerum et fructum ferens, radice magna orbiculari.
- Arum africanum, flore albo odorato.
- Arum maximum ægyptiacum, quod vulgo Colocassia audit.
- 1 Asclepias africana aizoides.
- 2 Asclepias africana, longioribus foliis minus dentatis.
- 3 Asclepias africana, flore pulchre fimbriato.
- Argyrodentros africana, foliis sericis et argenteis.
- Asparagus sylvestris africanus aculeatus.
- Asphodelus africanus, angustis foliis luteis, minor.
- Asplenium africanum ramosum, maximum, caulibus splendentibus.
- 1 Aster africanus, Jacobææ foliis, flore aureo.
- 2 Aster africanus, Stæchatis foliis, flore aureo.
- 3 Aster africanus ramosus, Hysopi foliis, floribus cœruleis.
- 4 Aster africanus ramosus, floribus albis.
- 5 Aster africanus, Helegrisi folio, flore rubro.
- 6 Aster africanus frutescens, foliis angustis, et plerumque conjunctis.
- 7 Aster africanus frutescens, splendentibus parvis et reflexis foliis.
- 8 Aster africanus frutescens, Lavendulæ folio, flore purpureo.
- 9 Aster africanus annuus, Senecionis foliis.

- 10 *Aster africanus frutescens*, foliis Senecionis crassioribus.
- Asteroplatii Carpos africana frutescens*, Crithmi marini foliis.
- Astragalus africanus odoratus*, flore luteo.
- 1 *Bellis africana*, florum pediculis pene aphyllis foliis incis.
- 2 *Bellis africana*, florum pediculis foliosis, foliis angustis et integris.
- 3 *Bellis africana*, capitulo aphyllis luteo, Coronopi folio, cauliculis procumbentibus.
- 4 *Bellis africana*, Capitulo aphyllis luteo, foliis et cauliculis junceis erectis.
- 1 *Bryonia africana glabra*, foliis in profundas lacinias divis, fructu minori.
- 2 *Bryonia africana lacincata*, tuberosa radice, floribus herbaceis.
- Calendula*, sive *Caltha africana humilis*, flore intus albo, floris violaceo simplici.
- 1 *Campanula africana annua*, hirsuta, latis serratisque foliis, flore magno violaceo.
- 2 *Campanula africana annua*, glabra, ferrato folio, flore pallido.
- 3 *Campanula africana annua*, hirsuta, parvo angustoque folio, flore pallido violaceo.
- 4 *Campanula africana*, annua, angustifolia, flore purpurascete, major.
- 5 *Campanula africana annua*, angustifolia, flore purpurascete, minor.
- 6 *Campanula africana frutescens*, aculeosa, flore violaceo.
- 7 *Campanula africana minor*, Erini facie, flore violaceo, cauliculis erectis.
- 8 *Campanula africana minor*, Erini facie, flore violaceo, cauliculis procumbentibus.
- Camphorata africana umbellata*, frutescens: Canna.
- Cardamine africana trifolia* (dicitur etiam *Nasturtium*) foliis ternis, facie Christophorianæ.
- Centurium majus africanum*, laciniatum, flore aureo, odorato.
- 1 *Centurium minus africanum*, Lini foliis et facie, flore amplo suave rubente.

- 2 Centurium minus africanum, arborescens, latifolium, flore ruberrimo.
- 3 Centurium minus africanum, arborescens, angustissimum, flore ruberrimo.
- 4 Centurium minus africanum, arborescens, tulipiferum.
Cheirantos africana, flore luteo.
- 1 Chrysanthemum africanum Stœbes, foliis angustioribus.
- 2 Chrysanthemum africanum repens, flore aphylo, Coronopi folio.
Chrysanthemoides Osteospergon africanum, odoratum, spinosum et viscosum.
- Cistus humilis aizoides maritimus africanus, flore rubello.
- 1 Colutea africana annua, foliis parvis mucronatis, vesiculis compressis.
- 2 Colutea africana annua, foliis cordatis, et vesiculis minus compressis.
- 3 Colutea africana, Sennæ foliis, flore sanguineo.
- 4 Colutea africana humilis, flore sanguineo, Crotolarice filiquis.
- 1 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Linariæ angustis, major.
- 2 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Linariæ angustis, minor.
- 3 Coma aurea africana, Linariæ foliis glaucis et lanuginosis.
- 4 Coma aurea africana fruticans, omnium maxima, foliis tomentosis et incanis.
- 5 Coma aurea africana fruticans, Ericæ folio.
- 6 Coma aurea africana fruticans foliis glaucis, et in extremitate trifidis.
- 7 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Crithmi marini.
- 8 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis inferioribus incisis, superioribus dentatis.
- 1 Conyza africana arborescens incana, floribus purpuroviolaceis, foliis Salviæ odore, odore Salviæ et Roris marini.
- 2 Conyza africana humilis, foliis angustioribus nervosis, floribus umbellatis.
- 3 Conyza africana frutescens, foliis Salviæ, odore camphoræ.

- 4 *Conyza africana frutescens*, foliis *Ericæ hamatis* et *incanis*.
- 5 *Conyza africana*, frutescens, foliis *Roris marini*.
- 6 *Conyza africana*, *Senecionis flore*.
Cotula africana, calyce eleganti caſſio.
- 1 *Cotyledon africana frutescens*, foliis orbiculatis, limbo purpureo cinctis.
- 2 *Cotyledon africana*, teretifolia, flore pulcherrimo.
- 3 *Cotyledon africana*, foliis oblongioribus, floribus umbellatis fibroſa radice.
- 4 *Cotyledon africana frutescens*, folio longo et anguſto, flore flaveſcente.
- 5 *Cotyledon africana frutescens*, flore umbellato coccineo.
- 1 *Cytifus africanus argenteus*, flore atro purpureo.
- 2 *Cytifus africanus hirsutus*, anguſti-folius.
- 3 *Cytifus africanus herbaceus*, floribus rubris.
- 1 *Echium africanum frutescens*, foliis pilofis.
- 2 *Echium africanum perenne*, *Lycopſis facie*.
- 1 *Elichryſium africanum lanuginofum*, latifolium, calyce floris argenteo et ampliſſimo.
- 2 *Elichryſium africanum tomentofum*, frutescens, calyce argenteo.
- 3 *Elichryſium africanum lanuginofum*, anguſtiſſimo folio, calyce floris argenteo et ampliſſimo.
- 4 *Elichryſium africanum tomentofum*, frutescens, floris calyce aureo.
- 5 *Elichryſium africanum tomentofum*, frutescens, *Coris folio*.
- 6 *Elichryſium africanum incanum*, tomentofum, foliis ſubrotundes.
- 7 *Elichryſium africanum umbellatum*, odoratum luteum.
- 8 *Elichryſium africanum frutescens*, anguſtis et longioribus foliis, *incanis*.
- 9 *Elichryſium africanum latifolium*, foetidum, capitulo aureo.
- 10 *Elichryſium africanum luteum*, *Polii folio*.
- 11 *Elichryſium africanum tomentofum*, incanum, anguſtifolium floribus rubris.
- 12 *Elichryſium africanum latifolium*, foetidum, capitulo aureo.
- 13 *Elichryſium africanum frutescens*, foliis *Crithmi marini*.

- 14 *Elichrysum arboreum africanum*, Roris marini folio.
- 15 *Elichrysum africanum*, Plantaginis folio.
- 16 *Elichrysum africanum foetidissimum*, amplissimo folio.
- 17 *Elichrysum africanum inodorum*, glabrum, Coronopi folio.
Ephemerum africanum annuum, flore bipetalo.
- 1 *Erica africana viridis*, angustissimis foliis, flosculis in capitulum congestis.
- 2 *Erica africana*, flosculis subhirsutis, secundum ramulos * dispositis.
- 3 *Erica africana incana*, foliis angustissimis.
- 4 *Erica africana*, capillaceo brevique folio, flore rotundiori purpureo.
- 5 *Erica africana*, folio minimo, flore rotundiori albido.
- 6 *Erica africana*, Coris folio, flore oblongo spicato.
- 7 *Erica africana*, Coris folio, flore oblongo, purpureo, c foliorum alis prodeunte.
- 8 *Erica africana*, Coris folio, flore breviori.
- 9 *Erica africana*, Coris folio, floribus vesicariis.
- 10 *Erica africana*, juniperifolia, flore oblongo spicato.
- 11 *Erica africana*, juniperifolia, flore oblongo umbellato.
Evonymus africanus, folio lucido ferrato.
Fabago africana arborescens, flore sulphureo, fructu rotundo.
Ferula africana galbanimifera, frutescens, Myrrhidis foliis.
- 1 *Filicula africana maxima ramosa*, pinnulis tenuibus dissectis.
- 2 *Filicula africana*, in acutas divisa lacineis.
- 1 *Filix africana maxima ramosa*, pinnulis irenatis.
- 2 *Filix africana dentata*, Lonchitidis facie.
- 3 *Filix africana ramosa*, pinnulis Lonchitidis.
Foeniculum africanum, foliis in summitate atro rubentibus, seminibus angustis et longioribus.
Frutex africanus aromaticus, flore spicato, exiguo.
Frutex aethiopicus, Portulacæ folio, flore ex albido virecente.
Frutex africanus, Ericæ folio, glutinosus, flore spicato albo.
Galega africana, floribus majoribus, et siliquis crassioribus.

- 1 Genista africana frutescens, Rusci nervosi foliis.
- 2 Genista africana frutescens, angustis foliis.
- 3 Genista africana, Lavendulæ folio.
- 4 Genista africana juncea, floribus cæruleis, foliis minimis.
- 5 Genista africana minima, foliis Myrthi, in exquisitum micronem desinentibus.
- 6 Genista africana, Roris marini foliis, flore aureo.
- 7 Genista africana arborescens, argentea lanugine, pubescens.
- 8 Genista africana frutescens, spicata purpurea, foliis angustissimis.
- 9 Genista africana frutescens, foliis Torton-Raire, flore purpureo.
- 10 Genista africana, Laricis foliis longioribus et lanuginosis.
- 11 Genista africana, Laricis, foliis crassioribus et hirsutis.
- 12 Genista africana frutescens spicata, Laricis foliis.
- 13 Genista africana frutescens capitate.
- 14 Genista africana lutea, spicata, Laricis foliis.
- 15 Genista africana frutescens, capitulis lanuginosis, Laricis brevissimo folio.
- 16 Genista africana frutescens, capitulis lanuginosis, Laricis incanitis foliis.
- 17 Genista africana, camphorata folio, floribus luteis minimis.
- 18 Genista africana, foliis Galli.
- 19 Genista africana, Dorycinii facie.
- 20 Genista africana arborescens, Styracis folio, flore cæruleo.
- 1 Geranium africanum arborescens, Ibisci folio rotundo, Carlinæ odore.
- 2 Geranium africanum frutescens, Malvæ folio, lacinato, odorato, flore purpurascente.
- 3 Geranium africanum, Alchimillæ hirsuto folio, floribus albidis.
- 4 Geranium africanum arborescens, Alchimillæ hirsuto folio, floribus rubicundis.
- 5 Geranium africanum, Betonicæ folio lacinato et maculato, floribus incarnatis.
- 6 Geranium africanum, folio procumbente, floribus parvis eleganter variegatis.
- 7 Geranium africanum noctu olens, tuberosum et nodosum, et Aquilegiæ foliis.

- 8 Geranium africanum noctu olens, Aquilegiæ folio, flore incarnato rubente.
- 9 Geranium africanum noctu olens, flore ruberrimo, Anemones folio angustiori.
- 10 Geranium africanum noctu olens, flore rubro, Anemones folio angustiori.
- 11 Geranium africanum noctu olens, radice tuberosa, foliis Pastinacæ incanis, lanuginosis, flore pallido flavescente.
- 12 Geranium africanum noctu olens, radice tuberosa, foliis Pastinacæ angustioribus.
- 13 Geranium africanum noctu olens, tuberosum, Vitis foliis hirsutis.
- 14 Geranium africanum minus, Coriandri folio, floribus incarnatis.
- 15 Geranium africanum, uvæ, crispæ folio, floribus exiguus rubellis.
- 16 Geranium africanum majus, Coriandri folio, floribus incarnatis.
- 17 Geranium africanum, Althææ folio, parvo flore.
- 18 Geranium africanum, foliis plerumque auratis, floribus ex rubro purpurascentibus.
- 19 Geranium africanum, Myrrhidis folio, flore albicante, radice rapacea.
- 20 Geranium africanum, foliis inferioribus Afari, superioribus Staphydis agricæ maculatis, splendentibus et acetoso sapore.
- 21 Geranium africanum, Astragali folio.
- 22 Geranium africanum frutescens, folio ocasto et glauco, acetosofapore.
- Globularia africana frutescens, Thymelææ folio, lanuginoso.
- Hæmanthus africanus, sive Tulipa africana, flore albo.
- Hyacinthus africanus, flore cæruleo, umbellato, tuberosus.
- 1 Jacobæa africana frutescens, Abrotani folio.
- 2 Jacobæa africana frutescens, Hormini folio.
- 3 Jacobæa africana, Sonchi folio.
- 4 Jacobæa africana, Dentis leonih folio.
- 5 Jacobæa africana, Absinthii folio.
- 6 Jacobæa africana foliis integris, undulatis et crispis.
- 7 Jacobæa africana laciniata, latifolia, flore purpureo.

- 8 *Jacobæa africana* laciniata, angustifolia, flore purpureo.
- 9 *Jacobæa africana*, radice tuberosa.
- 10 *Jacobæa africana* frutescens, foliis incis et subtus cineraceis.
- 11 *Jacobæa africana* frutescens, foliis Absinthii umbelliferi, incanis.
- 12 *Jacobæa africana* frutescens, Coronopi folio,
- 13 *Jacobæa africana* frutescens, Lavendulæ folio latiori,
- 14 *Jacobæa africana* frutescens, folio longo et glauco.
- 15 *Jacobæa africana*, Hederae terrestris folio, repens.
- 16 *Jacobæa africana* frutescens, crassis succulentis foliis,
- 17 *Jacobæa africana* frutescens, foliis rigidis et hirsutis.
- 1 *Jasminum africanum*, foliis solitariis, floribus vulgatori similibus.
- 2 *Jasminum africanum*, Ilicis folio, flore solitario, ex foliorum alis proveniente, albo.
- 1 *Ketmia africana*, Populi folio.
- 2 *Ketmia africana*, Populi folio, subtus incano, et caule virescente.
- 3 *Ketmia africana* vesicaria, folio tripartito, flore purpureo.
- 4 *Ketmia africana* vesicaria, fruticans, et erecta, Alni foliis latioribus et majoribus, flore spirali sulphureo.
- 5 *Ketmia africana* frutescens, foliis mollibus et incanis, flore spirali sulphureo.
- 6 *Ketmia africana* vesicaria, uvæ crispæ foliis, flore spirali sulphureo.
- 1 *Laurus africana* minor, Querci folio.
- 2 *Laurus inodora africana*, fructu globofo Lauri ferratæ, odoratæ Stapelianæ similis,
- 3 *Laurus africana*.
- Leonurus perennis africanus*, Sideritidis folio, flore phœniceo majore villoso.
- 1 *Leucoium africanum*, cæruleo flore, latifolium, hirsutum.
- 2 *Leucoium africanum*, cæruleo flore angusto Coronopi folio, majus,
- 3 *Leucoium africanum*, cæruleo flore, angusto Coronopi folio, minus.
- 1 *Lilio-Narcissus africanus* humilis, longissimis foliis, polyanthos saturato colore purpurascens.

- 2 *Lilio-Narcissus africanus platicaulis humilis*, flore purpurascente odorato.
- 1 *Lothus africana annua*, hirsuta, floribus luteis.
- 2 *Lothus africana frutescens*, flore spicato rubicundo.
Lychnis Pseudo-melanthio similis africana, glabra, angustifolia, flore eleganter rubello.
Lycium æthiopicum, *Pyracanthæ* folio.
Malva africana frutescens, flore rubro.
- 1 *Melianthus africanus*.
- 2 *Melianthus africanus minor*, humifusus, foliis Pimpinellæ crispæ.
- 3 *Melianthus africanus minor*, foetidus.
Myrthus africana humilis, foliis Myrtilli crenatis, cauliculis nigricantibus.
Narcissus africana, *Polyanthos*.
Olea africana humilis, sylvestris, folio duro, subtus incano.
Oreoselinum aizoides arborescens, Ligustici foliis et facie, flore luteo.
- 1 *Ornithogalum africanum*, luteum, odoratum, foliis cepaceis, radice tuberosa.
- 2 *Ornithogalum africanum*, flore viridi, alteri innato.
- 3 *Ornithogalum africanum*, Plantaginis rosæ folio, radice tuberosa.
- 1 *Oxus bulbosa africana rotundifolia*, caulibus et floribus purpureis amplis.
- 2 *Oxus bulbosa africana rotundifolia*, virentibus floribus amplis, purpureis.
- 3 *Oxus bulbosa æthiopica*, sive africana minor, folio cordato, flore ex albido purpurascente.
Petasites africanus, *Calthæ palustris* folio, radice flavescente crassa.
- 1 *Phalangium africanum ramosum*, floribus albis, petalis reflexis.
- 1 *Phaseolus africanus hirsutus bituminosus*, siliquis bullatis, flore flaveo.
- 2 *Phaseolus africanus*, parvo fructu, non nihil albicante.
- 3 *Phaseolus africanus perennis minor*, flore suave rubente.
Planta lactaria africana.
Pimpinella africana saxifraga maxima.
Polypodium africanum maximum, acutissime divisum.
- 1 *Polygala*

- 1 *Polygala africana frutescens angustissima, major.*
- 2 *Polygala africana frutescens, angustissima, minor.*
- 3 *Polygala africana, Lini folio, magno flore.*
- 4 *Polygala africana frutescens, Buxi folio, maxima flore.*
- 5 *Polygala africana arborea myrthifolia, floribus albis, intus purpureis.*
Portulaca africana semper virens, flore rubicundo.
- 1 *Pseudo-dictamnus africanus, Hederæ terrestris folio.*
- 2 *Pseudo-dictamnus africanus, foliis subrotundis subtus incanis.*
Ranunculus africanus seu æthiopicus, foliis rigidis, floribus ex luteo virefcentibus.
Rapuntium africanum minus, angustifolium, flore violaceo.
Ricinus africanus maximus, caule geniculato ruticante.
Salix africana, angustis et longissimis foliis, subtus incanis.
- 1 *Salvia africana frutescens, Scorodoniæ foliis, flore violaceo.*
- 2 *Salvia africana frutescens, folio subrotundo, glauco, flore magno aureo.*
- 1 *Scabiosa africana arborefcens maxima, foliis rugosis, et crenatis integris.*
- 2 *Scabiosa africana frutescens, foliis rigidis, splendentibus, et ferratis, flore albicante.*
- 3 *Scabiosa africana, capitulo oblongo, flore albo.*
Scilla africana, flore viridi parvo, bulbo ampliffo.
- 1 *Sclarea africana præcox annua.*
- 2 *Sclarea africana frutescens, Helianthemii folio.*
- 1 *Sedum africanum fruticosum, Ericæ folio.*
- 2 *Sedum africanum arborefcens, incanum, foliis orbiculatis.*
- 3 *Sedum africanum majus arborefcens, foliis rotundioribus glaucis, limbo purpureo cinctis.*
- 4 *Sedum africanum umbellatum album, folio viridi angusto, mucronatum, flore albo.*
- 5 *Sedum africanum annuum, Centaurii minoris facie, flore aureo.*
Senecio africanus arborefcens, Ficoidis folio et facie.
Sideroxilum africanum, Cerasi folio.

1 *Sisyrinchium*

- 1 *Sisyrrinchium æthiopicum* seu africanum majus, angustifolium, floribus albis.
- 2 *Sisyrrinchium æthiopicum* seu africanum majus, latifolium, floribus albis, hexapetalis lineis purpureis striatis.
- 3 *Sisyrrinchium æthiopicum* seu africanum minus, latifolium, flore hexapetalo albo.
- 4 *Sisyrrinchium africanum*, flore ex phœniceo suave rubente.
- 5 *Sisyrrinchium africanum*, foliis Gladioli parvis et longis, pallescente flore.
- 6 *Sisyrrinchium ramosum æthiopicum* seu africanum, foliis plicatis nervosis et incanis, radice tuberosa phœnicea.
- 7 *Sisyrrinchium majus*, flore luteo macula notato.
- 8 *Sisyrrinchium minus angustifolium*, flore minore, variegato.
- 1 *Solanum pomiferum frutescens africanum spinosum*, nigricans, Boraginis flore, foliis profunde lacinjatis.
- 2 *Solanum lignosum africanum semper virens*, laurinis foliis,
- 1 *Spartium africanum frutescens*, Ericæ folio.
- 2 *Spartium africanum frutescens*, Rusci folio, caule amplectente.
- 1 *Spiræa africana*, foliis cruciatim positis.
- 2 *Spiræa africana odorata*, floribus plane rubentibus.
- 3 *Spiræa africana odorata*, foliis pilosis.
- Staphilodendron africanum semper virens*, foliis splendentibus,
- 1 *Tanacetum africanum fruticans*, multiflorum, foliis Tanacti vulgaris decuplo minoribus.
- 2 *Tanacetum africanum arborescens*, foliis Lavendulæ, multifido folio.
- 1 *Tetragono carpos africana*, radice magna onerosa et carnosa.
- 2 *Tetragono carpos africana fruticans*, foliis longis et angustis.
- 1 *Thymelæa Linifoliæ similis africana*, floribus pallidis, odoratissimis.
- 2 *Thymelæa Linifoliæ similis africana*, foliis lucidis latioribus et obtusis.
- 3 *Thymelæa africana*, foliis Lini, floribus in capitulum congestis.

- 4 *Thymelæa africana*, Roris marini folio, angustissimo breviori.
- 5 *Thymelæa africana*, Roris marini folio, angustissimo longiori.
- 6 *Thymelæa africana*, Roris marini folio, floribus longioribus.
- 7 *Thymelæa africana*, Sanamundæ facie, Ericæ foliis angustissimis.
- 8 *Thymelæa africana*, Torton-Raire similis, floribus in capitulum congestis.
- 9 *Thymelæa africana*, foliis Rusci.
- 10 *Thymelæa africana* frutescens, Jasmini flore, foliis Polygalæ.
- 11 *Thymelæa africana* angustifolia, Jasmini flore.
- 1 *Tithymalus aizoides africanus*, simplici squammato caule.
- 2 *Tithymalus aizoides africanus*, caule squammato, Clamænerii folio.
- 3 *Tithymalus arboreus africanus*.
- 4 *Tithymalus arboreus æthiopicus* seu africanus, Mezerei germanici folio, flore pallido.
- 5 *Tithymalus aizoides africanus*, validissimis ex tuberculorum internodiis provenientius.
- 1 *Trifolium africanum* fruticans, flore purpurascens.
- 2 *Trifolium africanum* fruticans, folio angustiore, flore rubicante.
- 3 *Trifolium africanum* fruticans, foliis incanis, flore luteo.
- Tulipifera arbor africana*.
- 1 *Valeriana africana* fruticans, foliis longis et angustissimis.
- 2 *Valeriana africana*, foliis angustis, flore macula rubicante notato.
- 3 *Valeriana africana* fruticans, foliis Ericæ.
- 1 *Vitis idæa æthiopica* seu africana, Myrthi Tarentini folio, flore atro purpureo.
- 2 *Vitis idæa æthiopica* seu africana, Buxi minoris folio, floribus albidis.

The preceding are all natives of, and, in general, peculiar to, Africa; then follow thirty-six different sorts of fig-trees, all called Hottentot figs, viz.

- 1 *Ficoides africana*, folio Plantaginis undulato, micis argenteis asperfo.

- 2 *Ficoides africana* acaulos, latissimis crassis et lucidis foliis conjugatis, flore aureo amplissimo.
- 3 *Ficoides africana* erecta, Ocimastris folio, micis argenteis asperfo, flore roseo magno.
- 4 *Ficoides africana* erecta ramosa, Tripolii folio, flore aureo magno.
- 5 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana*, folio angustiori.
- 6 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana* minor, multicaulis, flore intus rubente, extus incarnato.
- 7 *Ficoides africana*, folio ensiformi dilute virenti, flore aureo, brevi pediculo insidente.
- 8 *Ficoides africana*, folio ensiformi obscure virenti, flore longo pediculo insidente.
- 9 *Ficoides africana*, folio ensiformi varie inciso, aureo flore pediculo insidente.
- 10 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana* procumbens, folio triangulari ensiformi.
- 11 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana*, triangulari folio longissimo, fructu multo capsulari, flore luteo, major.
- 12 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana*, triangulari folio longissimo, fructu multo capsulari, flore luteo, minor.
- 13 *Ficoides africana*, folio triangulari longissimo, flore aureo.
- 14 *Ficoides africana*, folio triangulari longissimo, flore purpureo.
- 15 *Ficoides africana*, folio triangulari longissimo, flore carneo.
- 16 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana* major, procumbens, triangulari folio, fructu maximo eduli.
- 17 *Ficoides africana*, folio longo triangulari incurvo, purpureo caule.
- 18 *Ficoides africana*, folio longo triangulari recurvo, floribus umbellatis obsoleti coloris, externe purpureis.
- 19 *Ficoides africana*, folio triangulari recurvo, flore flavescente.
- 20 *Ficoides africana*, folio triangulari lanceato.
- 21 *Ficoides africana*, folio triangulari incurvo et dentato.
- 22 *Ficoides africana*, folio triangulari, obtuso, in geminos aculeos abeunte, flore aureo.

- 23 *Ficoides africana*, folio triangulari, apice rubro, caule purpurascente.
- 24 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana* minor erecta, triangulari folio viridi, flore intus aureo, foris purpureo.
- 25 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana* minor erecta, folio triangulari glauco, flore luteo.
- 26 *Ficoides africana frutescens*, perfoliata, folio triangulari glauco, punctate cortice lignoso, tenui, candido.
- 27 *Ficoides africana* erecta, folio triangulari glauco, punctis obscurioribus notato.
- 28 *Ficoides africana humilis*, folio triangulari glauco, bullato, flore luteo.
- 29 *Ficoides africana humilis*, folio triangulari glauco, dorso aculeato, flore luteo.
- 30 *Ficoides africana* erecta, folio triangulari glauco et brevi, flore carneo.
- 31 *Ficoides africana humifusa*, folio triangulari longiori, glauco flore flavescente.
- 32 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana*, folio tereti, procumbens, flore purpureo.
- 33 *Ficoides* seu *Ficus aizoides africana*, folio tereti, procumbens, flore coccineo.
- 34 *Ficoides africana*, folio tereti, in villos radiatos abeunte.
- 35 *Ficus africana*, oculeis longissimis et foliatis, nascentibus exfoliorum alis.
- 36 *Ficoides africana repens*, et læte virens, flore purpureo.

Next, numerous exotics, which have been introduced into the country from Europe, Asia, and America, viz.

Abies.

Acacia americana, foliis colutæ *Scorpioides leguminosæ*, siliquis echinatis.

Acetosa hortensis.

Allium sativum, et *hortense.*

Alnis rotundifolia, et *glutinosa*, viridis.

Aloe americana fobolifera.

Althea indica, seu *Rosa sinensis.*

Amygdalus.

Ananas, sive *Carduus brasiliensis*, foliis *Aloes.*

Apium hortense, seu *Petroselinum vulgo.*

Arundo saccharifera.

Asparagus.

- Asparagus fativa, et hortensis.
Beta rubra, et alba, radice Rapæ.
Batatas.
Brassica rubra, et alba, capitata et non capitata, et
florigera.
Camphoraria, seu arbor camphorifera, ex que cam-
phora officinarum prodit.
Cannabis fativa, et erratica.
Carduus benedictus, sive Cnicus sylvestris hirsutior.
Caryophyllus.
Cassia cinnamomea, seu Cinnamonum, sive Canella
ceylanica.
Castanea sylvestris.
Cepa vulgaris.
Cerasus varii generis.
Chærephyllon fativum.
Cicer fativum.
Cinaria hortensis, foliis non aculeatis.
Clematis hederacea indica, foliis subrotundis, flore
rubente.
Corylus fativa.
Cristi pavonis.
Cucumis vulgaris.
Cucumis dictus flos passionis.
Cucurbita laginaria et rotunda.
Cupressus ramis expansis.
Cyanus segetum hortensis, flore albo, cæruleo, etc.
Cytisus arvensis.
Datura, seu Stramonium indica major foetida, porro
spinoso, oblongo.
Faba leguminosa.
Ficus communis indica, etc.
Ficoides seu Ficus americana, Cerei effigie, spinosa
et angulosa.
Foeniculum vulgare.
Fragaria ferens fragra rubra.
Fruentum indicum sarasenicum.
Foela Moegri.
Foela quater horas.
Foela Aros branco.
Gramen vulgare, item bulbosum et sparteum hol-
landicum.
Grossularia multiplici acino, sive non spinosa, hor-
tensis, rubra et albat.

Guajana alba dulcis, five Gujava promifera indica.
 Hordeum vernum et hybernium.
 Hyacinthus albus, ex hollandia ablatus.
 Intybus fativa, latifolia et crispa.
 Juniperus vulgaris, baccis parvis.
 Katsjapiring.
 Kajoe amaas.
 Lactuca vulgaris capitata, et non capitata.
 Leucoitum album, purpureum, flavum.
 Lilium, son Corona imperialis.
 Majorana vulgaris.
 Malus domestica, variae denominationes ejus.
 Malus cydonia, fructu oblongo et leviori.
 Malus citria.
 Malus limonia acida et dulcis.
 Malus arantia indica, fructu omnium maximo, pom-
 pelmoes dicto, medulla partim pallefcence, partim
 rubefcente.
 Malus arantia lusitanica, feu pomum finense.
 Malus punica, five Granata.
 Malum syriacum feu creticum.
 Meliffa hortensis, odore citri.
 Melo hispanicus.
 Mentha hortensis crispa.
 Mespilus germanica, folio laurino non ferrato.
 Morus, fructu nigro.
 Myrthus communis italica, et latifolia romana.
 Napus fativa.
 Narciffus albus, magno odorato flore.
 Nasturtium indicum, flore luteo dilutiore.
 Nux juglans, feu Regia vulgaris.
 Ocyum latifolium maculatum vel crispum.
 Olea fativa.
 Paeonia, flore pleno rubro minore.
 Palma dactylifera, Dactylus vulgo.
 Papaver hortense.
 Pastinaca fativa, radice alba.
 Pepo indicus reticulatus, feminibus albis et nigris,
 major.
 Persica malus vulgaris, fructu molli et albo, item
 fructu quasi sanguineo.
 Pinus sylvestris.
 Piper indicum five balecutium, propendentibus fili-
 quis, oblongis, recurvis, rubris.

Pistacia indica, seu *persica*, fructu racemosa.

Prunus.

Pyrus fativa.

Quercus vulgaris, brevibus pediculis.

Raphanus niger major rotundus, et *Raphanus minor* oblongus.

Raphanus rusticanus.

Rosa centifolia, frutice spinoso, rubra, alba, etc.

Rosmarinus hortensis.

Ruta hortensis.

Sabina.

Salvia.

Sambucus vulgaris.

Secale hybernum sive majus.

Spinachia, semine non spinoso, et spinoso.

Tamariscus fruticosus.

Targos hortensis.

Triticum hybernum.

Tulipa.

Vitis vinifera.

Viola martia.

It is added, that all these trees, plants, herbs, and flowers, were to be found in the garden of the Company.

No. X.

SKETCH of the Life of REINIER DE KLERK, late Governor General for the Dutch East-India Company, abstracted from ARY HUYSEN'S *Life of R. de Klerk*. Amsterdam, 1788.

"I have made thee a name, like the name of the great men that are on the earth."

1 Chronicles, ch. xvii. ver. 9.

REINIER DE KLERK was born at *Middleburgh*, the capital city of the province of *Zeeland*, on the 22d of November, 1710. His parents were honest and industrious, but humble tradespeople, and their son was first

designed for the same line of life ; but to which not having any inclination, he entered, in his fifteenth year, in the naval service of Holland, and went upon a cruize, on board of one of the frigates, sent to look out for the homewardbound East-Indiamen. The year afterwards he went his first voyage to India, as a common sailor, in which station he performed another voyage afterwards ; and, in the year 1731, he went out, for the last time, as third mate, and never again returned to Holland.

At *Batavia*, he was speedily promoted to the rank of first lieutenant, and to the command of a country-veffel, in which he went seven voyages to *Padang*, on the west coast of *Sumatra*. On that coast, he was frequently employed to command the troops and vessels, which were sent to the assistance of the kings of *Baros* and *Sorkam*, two allies of the Company, who were subject to continual vexation and oppression from the king of *Acheen*, and in these expeditions he conducted himself with such bravery and conduct, as to acquire the title of *the brave hero*, in the letters and congratulations of the Indian princes. But he was frequently afflicted with illness, chiefly paralytical, from the great unhealthiness of *Baros*, *Sorkam*, and the surrounding country.

His meritorious services did not fail to be reported to the government at *Batavia*, and laid the foundation of his future greatness. At this period of his life an anecdote is related of him, which shews his early ambition and perseverance in aspiring to the highest dignity in India. The comptroller of equipment, at *Padang*, was saying jocularly to him, "DE KLERK, you will certainly "be one day commandant of *Batavia*," (or chief of the military there, an office of great trust and importance), not conceiving that even this elevation was within the compass of a hope ; upon which our hero replied, "'Tis "not that I want, but I am seeking for the door to the "governor generalship."

In the year 1737, he left the sea service, and was made junior merchant, and chief of *Lamong Toulang Bauwang*. The motives that induced the then governor general, VALKENIER, to send him to this place, were, that DE KLERK being thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of *Sumatra*, would be the fittest person to adjust some disputes that had arisen between the kings of *Bantam* and *Palembang*, about their respective boundaries. The man-

net in which he settled them deserves being recorded. He went up the river of *Lampong*, which is very broad, and runs far inland, in an armed vessel, as far as *Mangala*, a village so called by the inhabitants. Here lay the fleets of both nations, and he moored his vessel between them; and endeavoured, as umpire, to settle their differences, but in vain: he remained fourteen months in this situation; and, at the end of that time, he was allowed to build a house of bamboos, upon the shore, for the accommodation of himself and his followers. He soon availed of this circumstance, to bring matters to a conclusion; and by cannon, the present *ratio ultima regum*, he made the contending parties soon agree. He secretly got, one night, from on board his vessel four pieces of artillery, which he placed at each angle of his house, behind a breastwork of bamboos. At daybreak, hoisting the Dutch flag, he fired a salute from these guns. The astonishment of both parties, who were very jealous of the Company's gaining a footing there, and who had, therefore, waited so long before they would allow him to sleep on shore, may easily be conceived. But DE KLERK, who knew their disposition, and, that once intimidated, they would be humble and conceding, sent word, by the messengers that came to him from both kings to know the reason of this hostile appearance, that he was determined to enforce a speedy adjustment; and, as he could not answer to his employers to be longer detained by their frivolous conduct, he hoped they would speedily agree, without a more serious interference on his part; the disputes respecting the boundaries were soon settled to mutual satisfaction; and the limits then laid down between the two empires, continue still the same. DE KLERK afterwards built a fort, on the same spot where his bamboo house had been erected; he named it *Valkenoog* (Hawkeseye), in allusion to the name of the governor general; and the Company have ever since remained in quiet possession of it.

Returning, in the year 1741, to *Batavia*, he found the country still in commotion, the consequence of the revolt of the Chinese, and which had, in the preceding year, brought on the dreadful event related in volume i. page 263. The desperate Chinese still continued their ravages even in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and a great number of them yet maintained themselves at *Bacassie*. A body

of troops were sent against them, with whom the junior merchant, DE KLERK, went as secretary. The expedition succeeded in no farther than in driving the rebels higher up the country; and the war was transferred to the northeast coast of *Java*. Thither DE KLERK followed the operations of war, in the same year, 1741; and he ingratiated himself exceedingly with the two commissaries appointed to attend to the prosecution of it; especially with the first of them, Mr. VERYSSEL, partly from that gentleman having been commandant of the admiralty-wharf at *Batavia* while DE KLERK was in the sea-service, and who was, consequently, acquainted with his meritorious conduct, and partly on account of his knowledge in the affairs of the natives, and his enterprising spirit; of which an instance occurred shortly afterwards, which procured him great reputation. Commissary VERYSSEL entertained secret views of making himself master of the person of the general who commanded the auxiliary army of the emperor of *Java*, destined to act in concert with the Company against the Javanese and Chinese insurgents, but who did more harm than good to the Dutch. He gave the powder and shot that were furnished to him by the Company, to the enemy; and when his troops, and those of the Company, were conjointly engaged, it plainly appeared that they fired in the air. This conduct had been reported at the court of the soefochoenari, and the emperor had long known the evil disposition of his general; he, accordingly, wanted much to be rid of him; but he had not the courage to make the attempt himself, and committed this dangerous business to the execution of Commissary VERYSSEL, who was equally at a loss how to attempt it. It happened, however, that this general, who was a prince of the blood, and cousin to the emperor, came and encamped with his large army, computed to amount to one hundred thousand men, near *Samarang*. This opportunity was not to be neglected; but the commissary was at a loss upon whom to fix to begin the dangerous experiment of enticing the imperial general, who was as little inclined to the Dutch, as he was ambitious of sitting on the throne of his relation, into the power of the Company. He consulted DE KLERK on the subject; "I know of no one able to fulfil your intentions," was the answer; "but if I may be made use of, my life, at least,

" is

“ is devoted to the service of the Company.” He accordingly set out, accompanied by some native servants, carrying the presents, which consisted of two chests of opium, velvets, fine cloths, &c. Upon reaching the tent of the Javanese commander, DE KLERK, in a soothing and complimentary speech, endeavoured to persuade the general to pay a visit to the commissary at *Samarang*, offering himself and his attendants as hostages, to remain in the camp; to this, after some hesitation, the general agreed; and, going to *Samarang*, he was received with great ceremony and pomp, and with every mark of honour and friendship, without perceiving any reason for suspicion or signs of reserve in any of the members of the Dutch government. On his return in the evening, DE KLERK was liberated, and sent back with counter-presents to the commissary. By this means the general was lulled into a fatal security, and he was soon induced to pay a visit to the commissary at *Samarang* without taking any precautions for his safety. This time, however, he had no sooner entered the fort, than he was told that he was a prisoner, and he was immediately put on board a ship, and sent to *Batavia*, whence he was exiled to *Ceylon*, where he died.

The fortitude and address which DE KLERK had manifested on this occasion, gained him great reputation; and he was sent to command at *Sourabaya*, the easternmost possession of the Company in *Java*, which was, at that juncture, a post of trust and importance. The prince of *Madura*, who pretended to be a friend of the Company, had nearly gained possession of the whole of the dominions of the emperor, and it became necessary to stop him in his career of aggrandizement. DE KLERK was, therefore, directed to deliver a letter from the commissary to the prince, and to desire of him to restore to the emperor his capital city of *Cartasoura*, which he had taken possession of. The prince made, at first, many objections; but, upon the strong remonstrances of DE KLERK, he, at last, promised to satisfy the Company in this respect. His ambitious designs, however, extending to the mastery of the whole eastern part of *Java*, as far as *Balambouang*, it became his interest to secure, if possible, the favour of the chief of *Sourabaya*, and he attempted to accomplish this purpose by the powerful aid of money. But he found himself greatly deceived in this respect, and his ambitious

designs continued to be thwarted and frustrated by the faithful DE KLERK. It is usual with many of the Indian princes, that, when they have conceived any displeasure against the chiefs, or residents, of the Company, with whom they have to deal, they prefer complaints against him to the supreme government at *Batavia*, requesting that he may be removed, and some other appointed in his stead; and, for the sake of peace and policy, it is sometimes requisite to comply with such requests, although the person in question, be wholly blameless. This was the case with DE KLERK; he was ordered, on the 1st of August, 1743, back to *Batavia*, most probably at the instance of the prince of *Madura*, for no maladministration could be laid to his charge. He, however, so clearly and wholly vindicated himself to Governor VAN IMHOFF, who was just come from Holland, that he was shortly afterwards sent back in a higher office.

As there still remained many matters to adjust with the Javanese princes, Mr. VERYSSEL was again sent as commissary in behalf of the Company, in order to direct and settle affairs in an amicable manner; the Chinese, too, still disturbed the country, in distant corners; which, with other things, were the objects detailed in an elaborate, but clear, memorial, which was given to the commissary. He left *Batavia* in the month of August, 1744, taking with him his friend DE KLERK, who was appointed to the office of first administrator at *Samarang*; a station which gave him opportunities of ingratiating himself still more with his patrons and employers.

It being the object of Governor VAN IMHOFF to introduce the farming of the territorial revenues in all the residencies along the northeast coast of *Java*, he made choice of Mr. E. STERRENBURG to be commandant of that government at *Samarang*, being a person of great ability, in whom he conceived that he could with safety confide, for his aid towards the execution of the above favourite plan. This gentleman appeared to give great satisfaction during the first two years of his administration; but when he began to complain in strong terms, by letters and resolutions, of the conduct of the farmers of the revenues, and thereby departed from the views of the introducer of them, the great attachment of the governor towards STERRENBURG was soon changed into the bitterest enmity.

VAN IMHOFF, unable to bear to have his designs thus thwarted, resolved to go in person to the coast, in order to settle all disputes, as well as the question of the farms, to his own liking.

He went thither in March, 1746; and STERRENBURG soon felt the weight of his displeasure. But DE KLERK was loaded with caresses and friendship. This naturally produced a jealous misunderstanding between STERRENBURG and his subordinate administrator DE KLERK; and after the departure of VAN IMHOFF, the hatred, thus excited, was openly manifested, by every species of ill usage which the situation of STERRENBURG enabled him to put in practice towards DE KLERK. The former, however, was still left in the government, as VAN IMHOFF flattered himself that he would alter, and blindly fulfil the desires of his excellency, to push the measure of farming the revenues, whatever it might cost; but in this expectation he was much deceived. STERRENBURG continually remonstrated against the iniquitous extortions of the farmers, and was the vehicle of the complaints and representations of the wretched Javanese, on the subject of the tyranny under which they laboured.

The consequence of this was, that an entire change took place in the administration of the northeast coast of *Java*, in March, 1747. STERRENBURG was dismissed from his office with every mark of disgrace, and commanded to come to *Batavia*, to answer to the charge of disobedience and obstinacy, in contravening the orders of the supreme Indian government. On the other hand, DE KLERK was, on the same day, promoted to the rank of second in that government, by which he might have hopes of soon commanding in chief over that rich and favoured country; but he was not long afterwards called to fill another station, in which his generous and noble character was fully displayed.

STERRENBURG was thrown in chains at *Batavia*, and although the direction at home, informed of these matters, and wanting to bring these differences to a termination, sent out an order appointing him extraordinary counsellor of India, which was received at *Batavia* while he was under the most rigorous confinement, yet the governor and council came to a resolution not to acknowledge this appointment, but sent the unfortunate victim of the hatred of the governor, in compliance with a sentence

pronounced upon him by the municipal government, in exile, for five-and-twenty years, to Fort *Revenge*, upon the island of *Pulo-ay*, in the province of *Banda*.

VAN IMHOFF, not contented with this deep humiliation of a man for whom he had before cherished the warmest attachment, contrived another means by which he hoped to render his life still more a burthen to him. He knew that DE KLERK, when administrator at *Samarang*, had suffered much indignity and vexation at the hands of his enemy, and that he, therefore, could not well fail of cherishing an utter hatred for him. DE KLERK was, therefore, appointed governor of *Banda*, on the 30th of December, 1748, and no other expectations were formed than that he would soon shorten the days of his adversary by the ill usage which he would now have it in his power to retort upon him. STERRENBURG could scarcely entertain any other opinion; and expected the arrival of the new governor with dismay and dread. But never were expectations more deceived. DE KLERK, on his arrival at *Banda*, and when he was entering the harbour of *Neira*, received a letter from his exiled enemy, couched in the following terms:

"SIR,

"I congratulate you on your arrival in this province,
 "I cordially wish and pray that the country may flourish
 "under your administration. In the mean time I beg
 "leave to call to your remembrance the well-known
 "saying of Solon; and I remain, with perfect respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"E. STERRENBURG."

The answer of DE KLERK was equally in a laconic style, and in these words:

"SIR,

"I am much obliged to you for the friendly congratulations contained in your letter of yesterday. It is not my custom to attack a defenceless enemy, and you may depend that I shall make it a point, to render your residence in this province as comfortable as possible. I send you herewith, by provision, a case of wine, two cheese, and a barrel of butter; also the latest newspapers from Holland. Whenever you are in want of any thing, write freely to

"Your humble servant,

"R. DE KLERK."

No

No idea can be formed of the effect which this, and many succeeding marks of friendship, had upon the heart, and upon the health and spirits, of the banished STERRENBURG. His place of exile became an abode of comfort and pleasure as long as DE KLERK was in the government; and he lived for many years after the death of his enemy, VAN IMHOFF, in liberty and ease. The sentence passed upon him by the municipal government was reversed, and he was declared innocent by the council of justice, before whom he solicited a revision of the affair.

Governor DE KLERK arrived in *Banda* in good time. He found there a great scarcity of rice, which was very distressing to the poor inhabitants. But he soon discovered that it was occasioned by the rapacity of two or three monopolists, who had large quantities of rice on hand, and sold it to the necessitous at an exorbitant rate. He soon constrained them to sell their grain at the usual price; he thereby naturally became endeared to the people; and he left no means untried to render the province flourishing and profitable. He paid particular attention to the *parkeniers*, the proprietors, or lessees, of the nutmeg-plantations, and larger quantities of nutmegs and mace were collected during his administration than in former times. In short, he did much good to *Banda*, though at the expence of his own pocket, and he left it in the year 1753, amidst the blessings and regret of the inhabitants.

Returning to *Batavia*, he married, on the 1st of May, 1754, Mrs. VERYSSEL, the widow of his late friend, the commissary, and he lived with her for the space of six-and-twenty years at *Batavia*, which is a very rare circumstance at that place, where Europeans very seldom live to celebrate their silver, and, almost never, their golden, weddingdays*.

* It is a custom among the married Dutch, when they live together so long, to celebrate with great rejoicings, and with as much pomp and circumstance, as the situation of the parties will allow, the twenty-fifth, and fiftieth, anniversaries of their marriage; on which occasion all their friends and relatives who were living at the time of their union, and who can be assembled, are in particular invited; and these jubilees are called, the former the silver, and the latter the golden, weddingday; at the first, the married pair are crowned with a silver crown, all the utensils and ornaments used are of silver, or silver-gilt, and a profusion of silver-paper, and silver-tinsel, is employed in decorations; while, at the other, a golden crown is made use of, and every thing glitters, in the same manner, with gold.

The

The direction at home, well informed of his honourable conduct in *Banda*, ordered him a pecuniary recompence for his zeal and diligence in the collection of nutmegs and mace, and indemnified him thereby for the expences he had himself incurred, in the discharge of that duty. Such a disinterested administration is not frequently to be observed in India, and *Banda* may be said never to have been more flourishing under any former, or succeeding, governor.

On the 30th of May, 1755, Mr. DE KLERK took his seat in the council of India, upon being appointed extraordinary counsellor. This assembly has the absolute controul over all the factories of the East-India Company, *China* and the *Cape of Good Hope* excepted; and it is an ancient custom that the correspondence with the several settlements is divided among the members. The least troublesome department was not allotted to DE KLERK. He was entrusted with the correspondence of *Ceylon*, the most important establishment of the Company in the west of India; and he managed this difficult business, together with several other weighty offices, for more than twenty years.

Shortly after his elevation to this dignity, the government at *Batavia* received orders from home to form a general plan of economy and reform in the affairs of the Company, in all their Indian possessions, which were then already perceived to be in a very prejudicial situation. A portion of this labour was committed to each member of the council, and DE KLERK received *Banda* for his share, and gave in an ample and elaborate memorial respecting that important province, in the year 1756, under the title of *Radical Account of Banda*; it was sent to Holland, and obtained the special approbation of the direction at home, and they particularly expressed their satisfaction with it, and their desire that the arrangements proposed in it should be put in practice, by their general letter of the 10th of October, 1758.

DE KLERK also, at one time, had the superintendence of the hospitals; but in the amelioration of these establishments, so as to reduce the great mortality which prevailed, and still prevails, in those receptacles of human misery, he had no better success than any of his predecessors, or successors; the cause, however, seems to be
above

above the art or wisdom of man, and to originate in the unexampled infalubrity of the spot.

In the mean time, he continued to keep the Ceylon correspondence with zeal and activity. An expensive war between the Company and the king of *Candia*, gave the council of India, and especially the subject of these memoirs, much occupation: upon this occasion he uttered his sentiments without restraint, and gave very free advice in the council, such as was repugnant to the opinion of the then governor general, VANDER PARRA, who was, therefore, wishful to get rid of him. The governor general proposed to the council, that as, by the resignation of Governor SCHREUDER, *Ceylon* stood much in need of another able and vigilant head to supply his place, DE KLERK should be appointed to that government. He, however, excused himself, upon the ground of his ignorance of the language, and his want of local knowledge; and, likewise, that the fatigue of such an appointment would be too great for him, who had already served the Company for the space of five-and-thirty years, out of which full twenty had been spent in climates the most noxious to his constitution. That government was accordingly given to his friend, Baron VAN ECK, who speedily terminated the war of *Ceylon*, by the taking of *Candia*, the capital city of the king.

On the 28th of December, 1775, died the governor general, PETER ALBERT VAN DER PARRA, after an administration of fifteen years; and, by his death, Mr. JEREMIAH VAN RIEMSDYK, of *Utrecht*, who had, for eleven years, filled the important office of director-general, succeeded to the supreme management of affairs in India; at the same time, DE KLERK became director general, after he had sat for twenty years in the council of India, without any promotion, which is equally a rare thing, in this unhealthy place.

His conduct in this office, as in all the others which he had borne, was both meritorious and disinterested. The goal which he had so long proposed to himself, as the termination of his ardent pursuit, was now within his view; and it was not long before he received the reward of his long services, and attained the ultimate object of his wishes, of his hopes, and of his ambition. Governor VAN RIEMSDYK died on the 3d of October, 1777; and DE KLERK was appointed, the day afterwards, to the high
dignity

dignity of governor general of the possessions and establishments of the East India Company, of the Netherlands, in India. Behold here, a man raised, by merit and conduct, from the lowest to the highest station! He served his employers, for fifty years before his final elevation, with integrity and success, and had filled many and important offices with fidelity and honour. He was sixty-seven years of age when he became governor general, yet, at that time, and for a year and a half afterwards, he enjoyed his powers of mind, his health, and strength of body, unimpaired; but his advanced age made him frequently say, "It is mustard after meat."

Notwithstanding the shortness of his administration, he effected several things, memorable in themselves, and beneficial to the Company. He brought to a conclusion the war of *Macassar*, which had been begun under the administration of his immediate predecessor, by the reduction of *Gaach*. He procured, from the king of *Bantam*, the cession, to the Company, of the provinces of *Lampak* and *Succadana*, in *Borneo*, where he established a residency, and built a fort, called *Puntiana*, whence they now receive diamonds, wax, and sago. He quelled the refractory spirit of the inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, by seizing upon the kings of *Tidore* and *Bachian*, whom he kept as state prisoners at *Batavia*, sending the hereditary prince of *Tidore* in exile to *Ceylon*, while the government of those islands was placed upon the same footing as that of *Ternate*, and they were rendered wholly dependent upon, and feudatory to, the Company.

He established likewise, in April, 1778, the first literary society of *Batavia*, of which he was the president; and he paid particular attention to matters of religion, encouraging the establishment of schools, and endeavouring to engage clergymen of abilities and learning to come to the Indies.

He bestowed a signal favour upon the *Jaccatra* chiefs or native regents, by allowing them to liquidate, by degrees, and in the produce of the country, a large sum of money which they owed to the commissary of inland affairs; as likewise, by appointing two members of the government to watch over the interests of those regents, and to take care that they did not suffer any oppression at the hands of the commissary, or of any one else.

At the same time, he also cast his thoughts upon a large
extent

extent of uncultivated and desert tracts of land, situated in the interior parts of *Jaccatra*, and belonging to the Company: he caused them to be sold, or distributed among the Javanese, by valuation, whereby he not only procured a pecuniary advantage to the Company, but likewise contributed not a little to the promotion of agriculture.

He was not, however, without his faults; and could not, in some instances, bear much contradiction or opposition. Notwithstanding his great love of justice and equity, he was one time hurried into an unjustifiable excess against the council of justice; the president, and five members of this body, were removed from their seats by him, on the 9th of October, 1778, because they refused to give up some original papers, relative to proceedings that had been instituted before them, and which they considered as sacred, and included within their oath of secrecy. The direction in Holland too disapproved hereof, and ordered those gentlemen to be reinstated in their offices, and that they should receive their salaries from the time they had been deposed.

Governor DE KLERK was, otherwise, a man affable in his manners, unassuming in his conduct, and inimical to all external pomp and ostentation. Immediately after his appointment, he intimated to the members of the council, that it was both improper and indecent, that either they should stop their carriages, when they chanced to meet with his, or that they, or any one else, should stand up in the churches, after the service had commenced, upon his coming in; both which regulations had formerly been always enforced by the governors general, and they were accordingly now abolished.

He, moreover, introduced the regulation, that, thenceforward, no visits of ceremony should be received, upon the accession of a governor general, from the Javanese regents and princes of the northeast coast, but that the homage, usually paid by them on such occasions, should be received by the governor of *Samarang*. Besides his disinclination for pomp and ceremony, he had motives of policy for this measure: *Batavia* was, at that time, very thinly inhabited, and weakly garrisoned, and the Javanese princes were accustomed to bring with them, on such occasions, a numerous retinue of their countrymen, from whose treacherous disposition danger might be apprehended

hended to the city, on their perceiving the weakness of its means of defence.

It was not till one-and-twenty months posterior to his accession, and after he had received the confirmation of his nomination from his serene highness the prince of Orange, as upper director of the East-India Company, who wrote him a letter, in his own hand, congratulating him on his appointment, testifying his esteem, and recommending him, in particular, to keep up the fortifications and naval force of the Dutch in India, that Governor DE KLERK would allow of his being publicly installed in that character, which was done with the usual ceremonies, on the 10th of July, 1779.

From this time, however, his excellency, bending under the weight of age, began to decline, both in bodily health and in mental exertion. Although he naturally wished for repose after his long and active labours, his love of fame still made him say, that "a governor general should die with a sword in one hand, and a pen in the other." In the month of August, 1779, he went to his country seat, called *Grogol*, situated about two Dutch miles south-east of *Batavia*, to fetch, as he expressed himself, some good health: in the first days of his stay there, he seemed to be getting better, but he experienced an unexpected attack of illness, that was supposed would have been fatal to him; but he recovered a little by degrees, and then returned to his usual residence at the *Molenvliet*. This attack had, however, so subdued him, that he could not be present at the council table, nor attend to the other duties of his office with any degree of accuracy. This debility made him apply to the council of India, on the 16th of March, 1780, requesting to be wholly exonerated from the duties of his station, until he should recover his former faculties and memory, or till the direction at home should otherwise dispose of the government. Mr. ALTING, the then director general, a man of great powers of mind, and well versed in the affairs of the government and commerce of the Indies, was accordingly appointed to fulfil the duties of governor general; and he readily took upon himself this heavy burthen, in addition to his other extensive and troublesome employment.

DE KLERK now began to decline from day to day; he at length entirely lost all powers of memory, and he died on the first of September, 1780, at the advanced age of almost

almost seventy years. His body was carried, according to custom, to the castle, whence it was conveyed, on the 4th of that month, with the funeral pomp due to his rank, to the place of interment, the Dutch church, at *Batavia*, where he was buried, next to his late friend and early patron and protector, *VERYSEL*.

FINIS.

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